Experiential Aspects of English Neoclassicism: Implications for the History of Classical Archaeology

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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my parents, Lorane and Judith Green.
Their unfailing assistance and encouragement
made it possible for me to complete this work, and my degree.

Abstract

This research project involves an analysis of the physical experience of neoclassicism and antiquity in eighteenth century England, and the effect of experientialism on the development of English architecture and material culture. This thesis defines experiential neoclassicism; analyzes the mechanisms of neoclassical dissemination into English society; and demonstrates how experiential neoclassicism was manifested in domestic, ornamental, and public structures. The research methodology includes: an examination of antiquity surveys published in the eighteenth century; a discussion about the influence that these publications had on the architecture and decorative arts of England; identifying principal neoclassical structures; and discussing their origin and genesis (including neoclassical houses, ornamental garden structures, and public building projects). There is an examination of neoclassicism in relation to experiential learning theory and sensory analyses, and case studies demonstrating how the mechanics of neoclassicism operated. The dissertation concludes with a discussion of the effect that neoclassicism had on the development of classical archaeology in England, and the implications for future provenance studies.

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Chapter One

Introduction

Dissertation Hypothesis and Theory

This dissertation explores the effects of "experiential neoclassicism" on the material culture of eighteenth century England, how knowledge of ancient sites and structures was disseminated, and how the neoclassical experience was manifested in structures, landscapes, and the arts. I will analyze specific neoclassical structures (domestic and ornamental) that present physical experiences of classical antiquity. Numerous books, articles, and monographs have been written about English neoclassicism and about the beginnings of archaeology; while these treatments acknowledge the power and prevalence of the neoclassical movement, they do not adequately explain *why* neoclassicism had such a widespread and lasting impact on English (and, indeed, Western) material culture. This is an important distinction that directly relates to how antiquity was objectified, interpreted − and experienced.

Experientialism implies that "…any object in a field of study within the lived world, be the object a material thing, an ideal, a theoretical proposition, cultural structure, an ethical value, or aesthetic artifact, must be taken directly, as it is present in experience. Moreover, the object of study must be taken not just in 'objective' terms, but in terms of its meaning and meaning implications which relate it to the lived world."[1] Experientialism is also "…the insight gained through the conscious or unconscious

[1] John R. Scudder and Algis Mickunas, *Meaning, Dialogue, and Enculturation: Phenomenological Philosophy of Education* (Washington, D. C.: Center for Advanced Research in Phenomenology and University Press of America, 1985) 9.

internalization of our own or observed interactions, which build upon our past experiences and knowledge."[2] While experientialism has been tied to semantics, linguistics, educational psychology, philosophy, and phenomenology, the importance of this area of study in understanding the interaction between physical representations of antiquity and physicality of experience has not been appreciated.

Another important distinction that must be made in the study of experiential neoclassicism and the history of archaeology lies in the difference between antiquarianism (the study and collection of artifacts, antiquities, and curiosities), and neoclassicism (the representational use of ancient art and architectural forms in public and domestic spheres, and the dissemination of these forms throughout the material culture). While antiquarians did follow a quasi-scientific approach to quantifying and classifying antiquity, their research and collections were highly personal, and not generally accessible. Antiquarian research satisfied the curiosity of individual scholars, who shared their findings and acquisitions in a rarefied dialogue with other antiquarians. The principal goal of neoclassicism, however, was to reconfigure eighteenth century society into the image of antiquity: to recreate a new, better Rome in England.

Published surveys of ancient sites became reference sources for practicing architects, artists, furniture makers, and ceramicists. Robert Adam published *The Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Dioclesian* in 1764; James Stuart (with Nicholas Revett) conducted a lengthy tour of Greece, which produced a multi-volume survey: *The Antiquities of Athens* (1762 – 1825). These publications gave the architectural practices

[2] Colin Beard and John P. Wilson, *The Power of Experiential Learning* (London: Kogan Page, 2002) 16.

of Robert Adam and James Stuart neoclassical credibility; other works, such as Robert Wood's *Ruins of Palmyra* (1753) and *Ruins of Balbec* (1757), and Thomas Major's *Ruins of Paestum* (1768) conveyed an experience of Greece and Rome that was powerful, even (in the case of Paestum) aggrandized – but nevertheless widely accessible.

In this dissertation, I will analyze how neoclassical experientialism was embodied in: domestic structures (Syon House, Osterley Park, and Spencer House, London, and Kedleston Hall, Derbyshire); ornamental structures (the Pantheon, the Temple of Apollo, the Temple of Flora, and the Grotto at the mythological landscape garden at Stourhead, Wiltshire); and public structures (The Adelphi and Somerset House, London). I will examine contemporary texts and images relating to these structures, their design and history, and the effect each had on the dissemination of neoclassicism in eighteenth century English society.

Neoclassicism had a profound impact upon English architecture, art, decorative arts, and education. The material culture of Early Modern England was transformed by that of ancient Greece and Rome; by the 1780s, reproduction of classical forms dominated English architecture, interior and landscape design, and led to the development of archaeology as a discipline. I believe that all of these effects can be directly linked to the experiential elements of neoclassicism, as I intend to demonstrate in my dissertation.

Importance of the Research Topic

Experiential neoclassicism had a significant effect on the acquisition of antiquities – both genuine and reproduction. These collection activities had a profound (if not

catastrophic) effect on such sites as Herculaneum and Pompeii, and created obvious difficulties for provenance studies. What is not so obvious, however, is the way that neoclassical experientialism can obscure provenance even further. Unlike the antiquarians, the neoclassicists did not value the authenticity of artifacts above all else: reproductions could be, and were, used to produce the experience of antiquity. While the neoclassicists were satisfied with the effect reproductions provided, they nevertheless sought, and even required, inspiration from an unimpeachably genuine source. These artifacts and architectural fragments themselves were highly valued, and so ruthlessly excavated. Ultimately, I believe that it will be important to question the origin of the artifacts and architectural elements that were incorporated in to neoclassical structures: how they were acquired, and by whom. Contemporary journals and letters are a valuable source of information about contemporary collection activities, and thus to provenance.

Modern archaeologists are faced with a two-sided legacy of neoclassical experientialism: though sites were plundered and even destroyed, the artifacts thus acquired gave force to the neoclassical movement and played a vital role in the evolution of scientific archaeology. The origins of archaeology do not truly lie with the antiquarians, an assumption commonly made by archaeological historians, but with the neoclassicists – an important distinction that I will explore.

Research Methodology

In the course of my research, I have examined how theories on the history of archaeology interact with those of architectural history, anthropology, social history, and

educational psychology. I have viewed and photographed original copies of *The Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian*, *The Ruins of Palmyra*, *The Ruins of Balbec*; and *The Ruins of Paestum*. I have examined many of Robert Adam's sketches and plans at the Soane Museum in London; this museum is the largest repository of Adam materials. I was able to study how Adam envisioned Roman ruins; the elements he chose to portray; and his drawings of imaginary ruins. This was an invaluable contribution to my research; I was able to see how Robert Adam's individual sketches of buildings and sites in Italy were used (and reused) in his architectural practice, and how his experiences in Italy and Spalatro (Split) had a lasting impact on his life and career. I have visited Syon House, Osterley Park, and Spencer House in London, and Kedleston Hall in Derbyshire; I have also studied and photographed the mythological structures, grottoes, and landscape features at Stourhead. I believe that these original documents and surviving structures provide a vital insight into the perception of antiquity in the eighteenth century, and how that experience was disseminated to other neoclassicists, their patrons, and society in general.

Research Limitations and Key Assumptions

It would be impossible to document every neoclassical structure in England, examine every vase, painting, or piece of neoclassic furniture, or even discuss the work of every practicing neoclassic architect and artist. For example, this dissertation does not include Sir John Soane. I do feel that this is an important distinction to make; Soane was a preeminent neoclassicist, and admired (and to some extent emulated) Robert Adam. However, he worked a generation later than the first neoclassicists: he was the product,

not an originator, of the neoclassical "revolution". There is a large body of research about Soane – his life, work, and influence, and I feel that including these elements into my dissertation would broaden my research base to too great an extent. I do intend to discuss the effect that experiential neoclassicism had on later architects such as Soane (and on the early archaeologists as well), but only to place neoclassicism in a developmental context in my concluding chapter.

For the purposes of this dissertation, I have selected the neoclassical architects who had the greatest influence in mid-eighteenth century England: Robert Adam, James Stuart, and William Chambers. I have chosen to research the most celebrated neoclassical private structures in England: Syon House and Osterley Park in London and Kedleston Hall in Derbyshire (Robert Adam) and Spencer House in London (James Stuart). All four houses were widely viewed and discussed, and survive as the best extant examples of monumental English neoclassicism. While several neoclassic landscape gardens were created in the late eighteenth century, Stourhead Garden had the most diverse features (representational and experiential) and contemporary influence. The Adelphi and Somerset House were the most significant public neoclassical structures in London; their construction best demonstrates how the neoclassicists fought to give London a suitably Imperial neoclassical aspect.

While the data portion of this dissertation consists of reproductions of contemporary accounts and publications, my access to these materials has been limited to volumes held in the University of Minnesota Andersen Library, Rare Books Collection; materials available online; and eighteenth century materials included in secondary sources. I did

not have permission to reproduce any previously unpublished contemporary materials (e.g., the Soane Museum would not allow photography or reproduction of their collections).

Key Themes, Definitions, and Topics of the Dissertation

Classical Antiquity and Eighteenth Century England

The surviving material remains of ancient cultures, particularly those of Greece, Rome, Etruria, and Egypt, gained a new respect and appreciation in the mid-eighteenth century. This is a marked departure from seventeenth and early eighteenth century perceptions of ruins as imperfect survivals, valuable only for their mytho-historical associations and the bronzes and marbles they contained. These attitudes would prove disastrous for Herculaneum and Pompeii, as portions of the towns were obliterated in the quest for antiquities. From the 1750s onward, however, a new appreciation for the value of ruins began to emerge, as the published engravings of Desgodetz, Le Roy, Piranesi, Wood, Stuart and Revett, Major and Adam revealed the power and grandeur of the classical ruin, and Winckelmann's reports on the excavations of Herculaneum and Pompeii illumined these sites for the whole of Europe.

Antiquarians, Neoclassicists, and Proto-Archaeology

The Antiquarians

Antiquarianism in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had a profound impact upon English architecture, art, decorative arts, and education. The material culture of

Early Modern England was transformed by that of ancient Greece and Rome. By the 1760s, the most fashionable English architects were those that replicated classical forms and structures. The inclusion of Greek, Roman, Egyptian, and Etruscan material culture into public monuments and buildings had a significant effect upon the perception of England's role in world politics – fostering a sense of Imperial stature and power. Many English travelers felt a proprietary interest in the ruins of ancient cultures they studied and viewed, and perceived philosophical claims to these antiquities and artifacts (e.g., the moral imperative that ostensibly prompted Lord Elgin's appropriation of the Parthenon Frieze).

Antiquarian traditions were rooted in ancient Rome (sites on the Palatine Hill were excavated and displayed to visitors in the first century CE)[3], but such studies were abandoned during the medieval period. Renaissance scholars and artists rekindled an appreciation for ancient architecture and art, and laid the first foundations for the modern discipline of archaeology. It is important to remember that antiquarian archaeology was practiced for nearly four centuries before the evolution of scientific methodologies; however, this aspect of the history of archaeology is often relegated to introductory chapters in most treatments of the subject.

[3] "Lucretius, Virgil, and Livy all knew what a Bronze and an Iron Age meant; their generation venerated a replica of the 'Hut of Romulus' on the Palatine." (Paul MacKendrick, *The Mute Stones Speak* [New York: W.W. Norton, Inc, 1983] 83. Livy promotes the imagery of Romulus' Hut in Camillus' speech to the Roman Senate after the sack of Rome in 386 BCE: "I cannot believe that you would commit so shameful a crime simply because you shrink from the labor of restoring these ruins; even if it were impossible to build here anything better or bigger than Romulus' Hut, surely it would nobler to live like country shepherds…" (Livy 5.54, *The Early History of Rome*, Books I-V, trans. Aubrey de Sélincort [Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, Ltd, 1971] 401).

Antiquarian collections could assume quite formidable proportions. The essential nature of antiquarianism in the mid to late-eighteenth century was one of privilege: it was the exclusive pursuit of wealthy, male aristocrats who had the benefit of a classical education, and an income that could support extensive travel and antiquities purchases. Ancient Greek and Roman culture was only accessible to those who knew Greek and Latin, and could read the ancient authors. The later neoclassical movement would, however, expose a far greater spectrum of Britain's population to ancient forms and structures.

Antiquarian collecting activities were assisted by the convention of the Grand Tour. Young scions of wealthy English families traveled across Europe (usually accompanied by a tutor or "bear leader"), occasionally interrupting their social activities with history lessons and visits to ancient sites. Seventeenth century travelers were almost wholly dependent upon the classical authors and questionable guides and tour books for the historical background of the places they visited. A 1671 Italian guidebook, *Discrittione del Regno di Napoli*, shows how foreign visitors were fed a mixture of myth and legend (salted with the odd historical fact or two):

> Above the Platamone sits the most lovely little mountain, called Echia by Hercules, who dwelt there. Having overcome Caccus, the most powerful man in the Roman Campania, he placed this land in liberty and came to Naples, and there left a great memorial to himself, which Pontano mentions in the book, *Bello Neapolitano*.[4]

[4] Enrico Bacco, *Naples: An Early Guide* (c 1761), (New York: Italica Press, 1991) 21.

Bacco's description of a tunnel near Naples attempts to document the historical background for an ostensibly contemporary engineering feat: the "Grotto", with its "Tomb of Virgil":

> Lucius Lucullus, a Roman gentleman, cut out the mountain of Posillipo towards Naples with the greatest expense in order to make a channel of the sea come in….Lorenzo Scradero, in his book entitled the *Monumenta Italia*, said that this grotto was made in fifteen days on the order of Cocceius by 100,000 men…. At present this grotto appears luminous, spacious and pleasing, a mile long and so wide that it can comfortably contain two carriages.
>
> Near the entrance to this grotto Virgil, whose body was brought from Brindisi, was buried in a little square temple made of brick, placed under a piece of marble with his epitaph…. A great laurel tree, which was born naturally many years ago at the summit of the cupola of this temple, was broken by a poplar tree that fell over on it on account of the wind in the year 1615. Nevertheless, out of its old roots another sprouted. Therefore it seems that Mother Nature had had it born in the beginning, just as later, to give a sign that there lay the ashes of this great poet, wonder of the world. In addition to this the whole temple appears covered with myrtle and ivy, which create a most beautiful sight. It brings a wonder to each one who looks at this

> place, seeing that nature might have produced it as much to show its greatness as to decorate the roof for such a great man.[5]

A traditional association of laurel with "greatness" lent credence to the presence of Virgil's tomb, as Virgil was a "great man." A Roman temple metamorphoses into a grotto by "nature's design;" thus confirming the presence of Virgil, for only a truly great man could be so honored.

The above passages also give us a glimpse of how veiled the image of antiquity was for the early modern scholar and antiquarian. In the seventeenth century mind, the visible contemporary landscape was as much shaped by myth and legend as the historical events documented by ancient authors. The 1692 - 1705 journals of an English Grand Tourist, William Bromley, reveal the same mixture of empirical observation and dubious historical information in his impressions of the Bay of Naples and its antiquities. He was most impressed by intact survivals, and wasted little time (or words) describing ruined structures:

> The Temple of the Nymphs is pretty entire, and is painted at top with Hieroglypicks. …The Temple of Diana Lucifera half entire, the rest in Ruines, and her Baths choak'd up with Earth.[6]

On a visit to modern Pozzoli, Bromley observed the remains of the "*Cento Camere*":

> …where the first Apartment is supported by eleven Pillars; and out of it by a descent one goes into several others with many windings that have no light in them, but what is carried down; for what end these were made, and to

[5] Bacco, *Naples*, 17-18.
[6] William Bromley, *Remarks on the Grand Tour of France and Italy* (London, 1715) 212.

> what use employed, is uncertain; the most common and current Report, is, that Nero kept his Slaves in those dark chambers, for several years, without the least light; and it was a Pleasure his Cruelty delighted in, to have them brought out in a clear Sun-Shine day on purpose to blind them, which many believe was so effected, the Optick Nerves being not able to bear so much light on so sudden a change.[7]

Whether this "common and current Report" was passed on by guides, guidebooks, or derived from Bromley's own Oxford education is unclear. What is apparent is that Bromley's descent into the mysterious *Cento Camere* evoked no emotional or romantic response. He did not dwell on the dripping walls, flickering torchlight, and dank mustiness of this archaeological grotto; rather, he saw the chambers as a moral reflection of the evils of Roman slavery. Later Grand Tourists would not be so sanguine about the antiquities they observed; for the neoclassical surveyors and architects, these ancient ruins (so unimpressive to seventeenth century eyes) inspired a movement that sought to transform eighteenth century English society and material culture − neoclassicism.

The Neoclassicists

Archaeology can be simply defined as the study of the material remains of past cultures. To Piggott, "…the nature of archaeological techniques applied to material remains of the past is comprised in the recognition of the unconscious historical content

[7] Bromley, *Remarks*, 210.

of the source employed rather than their obvious and overt qualities."[8] Modern archaeology values discrete, objective analyses of artifact assemblages; ideally, the use to which objects were put in the past is of greater value than the use they could be put to in the present. Museum wars and ethnic proprietary interests notwithstanding, archaeology has evolved beyond its rapacious beginnings. And truly, "rapacious" best describes the interest in and exploitation of the archaeological record by the earliest archaeologists. Nevertheless, the origins of archaeological methodology (and the archaeological grotto) do lie in the excavations (and depredations) of the earliest collectors: the antiquarians and the neoclassicists.

In modern parlance, the term "classical antiquity" impartially embraces both Greece and Rome; the over-arching term "Greco-Roman" conveniently defines an otherwise problematic date range in Western history – 500 BCE to 500 CE. This classification was, however, not a view commonly held in the eighteenth century. Scholars, architects, historians, artists – indeed, anyone who received the benefit of a classical education – viewed Greece and Rome as separate, representationally different embodiments of philosophical ideals. Greece was the fountainhead of artistic achievement and philosophical sophistication; Rome was a dynamic, powerful symbol of militaristic and imperial strength. The Neoclassical movement in England was thus polarized between the proponents of Greek civilization as a source of inspiration and cultural guidance, and those who believed that "classical" culture reached the highest pinnacle of achievement in the Roman Empire.

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[8] Stuart Piggott, *Ruins in a Landscape: Essays in Antiquarianism* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1976) 3.

The most influential supporters of Roman architecture, Sir William Chambers, Giovanni Battista Piranesi, and the Adam brothers, waged a verbal and structural war against the most vocal advocates of Greece: James Stuart, Nicholas Revett, and Thomas Major. Piranesi's published engravings (including *Della Magnificenza ed Architettura de' Romani* and his illustrations in Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* and the Adams' *Works in Architecture),* Robert Adam's *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro*, and William Chambers' *Treatise on the Decorative Part of Civil Architecture* proclaimed the glories of Rome to an England rapaciously absorbing the "latest" antiquities. The *Antiquities of Athens*, and *The Ruins of Paestum, otherwise known as Posidonia* promoted a vision of the past that was all Greek, from the Corinthian Order to the Doric. These volumes, and the structures they inspired, are the product of a debate on the worthiness of Rome as a model for the Enlightenment, and the perception of Greece as the purest vision of ancient simplicity. Stuart, Revett, and the Adam brothers designed buildings that demonstrated their respective adherence to either Greece or Rome; Somerset House, Kedleston, Syon, and Osterley Park; Spencer House, Shugborough, and Ayot St. Lawrence - all of these structures are the physical embodiment of a philosophical debate that shaped the English neoclassical movement in the eighteenth century.

The late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries saw a progression from the antiquarian to the neoclassic, romantic and sublime, and into the proto-archaeological. The fascination with ruins inspired a movement in landscape architecture in England, which resulted in design masterpieces such as Stourhead and Stowe. These gardens in

turn inspired painters, historiographers, and poets. English grottoes did not only illustrate classical and mythological themes, they also replicated the experience of visiting an "archaeological grotto" – an ancient building or site overwhelmed by vegetation, or dug from ash and pyroclastic materials. This archaeological aesthetic was the product of both personal experience with ancient sites, and with the dramatic imagery of the archaeological travel books and prints.

The Rise of Archaeological Neoclassicism

Piranesi's first published engravings of 1745 extolled the glories of pure, authentic Roman architecture. The majestically vaulted proportions of actual Roman baths, palaces, and temples were the symbolic remnants of a vanished Italian greatness undiminished by temporal decay or cultural diminution. Piranesi and the other "archaeological" architects that followed him demanded the purest, most accurate sources of ancient inspiration; Robert and James Adam, for example, decried a continued dependence on the Vitruvian orders that were demonstrably not followed by the builders of antiquity:

> …among architects destitute of genius and incapable of venturing into the great lines of their art, the attention paid to those rules is frequently minute and frivolous. The great masters of antiquity were not so rigidly scrupulous.[9]

[9] Robert and James Adam, *The Works in Architecture of Robert and James Adam*, Vol. I (London: 1778, Reprinted by E. Thezard Fils, 1900) 4-5. April 22, 2013 <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/DLDecArts.RobertAdamV1>.

Architectural training in the eighteenth century consisted in large part of a thorough understanding of the history and material culture of antiquity. Sir William Chambers outlined the requirements of an architectural education in his *Treatise*; one of the principal attributes of a successful architect is that:

> Neither must he be ignorant of ancient history, fable and mythology, nor of antiquities, as far as relates to the structures, sculpture, ornaments and utensils of the Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, and Etrurians, as the established style of decoration, collects its forms, combinations, symbols and allusions…[10]

Robert Adam also advocated comprehensive familiarity with ancient structures and ruins, especially through direct, personal contact with ancient remains. Adam introduced *The Ruins of the Palace of Diocletian* with an archaeological call to arms:

> The buildings of the Ancients…serve as models which we should imitate, and as standards by which we ought to judge: for this reason, they who aim at eminence, either in the knowledge or in the practice of Architecture, find it necessary to view with their own eyes the works of the Ancients which remain, that they may catch from them those ideas of

[10] Sir William Chambers, "Introduction," *A treatise on the decorative part of civil architecture. Illustrated by fifty original, and three additional plates, engraved by Old Rooker, Old Foudrinier, Charles Grignion, and other eminent hands. By Sir William Chambers, K.P.S. surveyor general of His Majesty's works; treasurer, and member of the Royal Academy of Arts in London; also of those of Paris, and Florence. FRS. FAS. FSSS.* The third edition, considerably augmented. London, M.DCC.XCI. [1791] 12. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Gale. University of Minnesota. October 28, 2013 <http://find.galegroup.com.ezp3.lib.umn.edu/ecco/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ECCO&userGroupName=umn_wilson&tabID=T001&docId=CB129918570&type=multipage&contentSet=ECCOArticles&version=1.0&docLevel=FASCIMILE>.

grandeur and beauty, which nothing, perhaps, but such an observation can suggest.[11]

Piranesi, Adam, Stuart, Revett, and Major all published their archaeological surveys in readily available (if costly) flats and folios. Architects and artists could thus draw upon these resources (and all the other antiquities publications) in their buildings, sculptures and paintings; by 1800, the neoclassical movement had impacted the British social strata on many levels, and permeated English material culture. Chapter Two explores the English archaeological survey volumes, while Chapter Five contains a discussion of Stuart and Revett, and Piranesi. The English volumes were influenced by (and even modelled after) Italian and French sources, and owe much to the work of Desgodetz and Le Roy.

French Influences in English Neoclassicism

Antoine Desgodetz (1653-1728) was a French architect and author who published one of the first "scrupulously exact" surveys of ancient buildings.[12] Each monument in Desgodetz' *Les Edifices Antiques De Rome Dessines et Mesures Tres Exactement* (1682, second edition, 1779) is illustrated by a plan, elevation, and stylistic details. "Though Desgodetz does supply commentary, the illustrations are his primary means of communicating information and fulfilling his fundamental purpose – to replace or correct

[11] Robert Adam, "Introduction," *The Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Dioclesian at Spalatro* (London, 1764) 1.
[12] Eileen Harris and Nicholas Savage, *British Architectural Books and Writers, 1556-1785* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990) 180.

unreliable architectural treatises with the results of rigorous empirical inquiry."[13] Appendix B contains images from *Les Edifices*; Desgodetz's treatment of the Pantheon, the Colosseum and the Arch of Constantine provides a wealth of stylistic detail. Desgodetz's clinical approach, so venerated by Robert Wood, was not appreciated by the French Academy of Architecture in the 1680s; Desgodetz was not recognized as a true authority on the measurement of antiquity until the 1750s.[14] Wood may have used Desgodetz's survey as a pattern book for *Palmyra* and *Balbec*, but other later French authors, most notably Le Roy, took very different approaches when depicting antiquity.

Julien-David Le Roy published *Les Ruines des plus beaux monuments de la Grece* in 1758; a second edition in 1770 "…marked the emergence of a new sensibility in the grasp of architectural experience…"[15] Le Roy, a student at the Académie de France á Rome, travelled to Greece in 1754. *Les Ruines* were, in a sense, in direct competition with Stuart and Revett's proposals for the *Antiquities of Athens*. "Malicious people even suggested that Le Roy's visit to Greece was prompted by his being shown the subscription sheets of the Society of Dilettanti for the forthcoming project."[16] Publication politics aside, *Les Ruines* would prove to be a brilliant career move on Le Roy's part, establishing him as the leading authority on Greek architecture in France. "Le Roy used his research in Greece to investigate larger issues of historical change through

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[13] Bruce Redford, "The Measure of Ruins: Dilettanti in the Levant, 1750-1770," *Harvard Library Bulletin* 13:1 (2002) 7. April 4, 2013 <http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:FHCL:139076?n=21280>.
[14] Dora Wiebenson, *Sources of Greek Revival Architecture* (University Park and London: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1969) 53-54.
[15] Robin Middleton, "Introduction," *Le Roy: The Ruins of the Most Beautiful Monuments of Greece*. Robin Middleton, ed., David Britt, trans. (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2004) 1.
[16] Joseph Rykwert, *The First Moderns* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1983) 272.

comparisons of monuments from different periods."[17] *Les Ruines* proved popular in England, an interest stimulated by the publication of Wood's *Ruins of Palmyra* (1753) and *Ruins of Balbec* (1757).[18] Le Roy's work was not, however, universally applauded:

> …This work may be justly considered as an attempt to restore architecture to its antient dignity; and of enabling the beholder and reader to attain to the correct sublime in that noble art, after its having been so long mistaken.
>
> After all, we have certain reasons for declaring, that *Le Roy's* plans are far from being correct; that his imagination in some places has run riot; that, in others, his drawings are faulty, his proportions false; and that the public will do well to suspend their opinion of this work, until they have an opportunity to compare it with the Ruins of Athens, drawn upon the spot by an English artist, who will soon oblige the world with a publication.[19]

The readers of the *Critical Review* would have to wait until 1762 to make their comparison (the publication of the first volume of Stuart and Revett's *Antiquities of Athens*). Nonetheless, Le Roy's *Les Ruines* were highly popular, and their less exact, more dramatic imagery foreshadowed the later work of Clerisseau, Adam, and Major. Appendix B contains images from *Les Ruines*, further illustrating the contrast between Desgodetz's and Le Roy's treatments of antiquity.

Nationalistic bias did influence neoclassicism in England. According to Salmon, "British eighteenth-century patrons wanted an architecture which offered the veneer of

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[17] Christopher Drew Armstrong, *Julien-David Le Roy and the Making of Architectural History* (London and New York: Routledge, 2012) 4.
[18] Harris and Savage, 290.
[19] *Critical Review*, Number VIII, July 1759, Wiebenson, *Sources*, 104.

ancient culture, but also something new, or modern, and distinctly British."[20] Classical antiquity was a virtually limitless source of artistic and architectural inspiration. Neoclassicism was "…based on direct observation; on measurements and surveys of ancient ruins which still existed."[21] Piranesi's engravings promoted an impossibly grand image of classical antiquity, even as architects with heads for heights began to quantify the actual dimensions of extant ruins, and excavate buried structures.[22] Piranesi's aggrandizements could co-exist with quantified antiquity because "the neo-classical attempt to revive the antique tradition by a return to the original sources was profoundly colored by the growing romantic sensibility of the eighteenth century… Fired by the visions of artists…as well as by the rapid development of archaeology, the eighteenth century became intoxicated with the romance of the past."[23]

Neoclassicism in the eighteenth century was a study of contrasts: differences between the past and the present; the present and a potential future; between enlightenment and moribund tradition. The movement was not inspired by the "political nostalgia" of Charlemagne, but "…for the purity of classical forms and appreciation of antiquity as an educative force."[24] As neoclassical images and artifacts percolated through the levels of British material culture, "Classical rules crumbled at the edges; new

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[20] Frank Salmon, "Impact of the Architecture of Rome on British Architects and their Work, 1750-1840," *The Impact of Italy: the Grand Tour and Beyond*, Clare Hornsby, ed. (London: British School at Rome, 2000), 228.
[21] Elizabeth Burton, *The Pageant of Georgian England* (New York: Charles Schribner's Sons, 1967) 94.
[22] Salmon, "Impact," 223-224.
[23] David Watkin, "The Cult of the Ruin," *The English Vision* (New York: Harper and Row, 1982) 53.
[24] Wend von Kalnein, "Architecture in the Age of Neoclassicism," *The Age of Neoclassicism* (London: The Arts Council of Great Britain, 1972) liii.

tastes jostled alongside, making for 'neo-Classical' diversity."[25] Such diversity was symptomatic of a much more profound transformation in British society; the growing wealth and resources of the middle classes and landed gentry began to challenge the entrenched privileges of the titled aristocracy, and the lower classes, drawn by the possibilities and variety of urban life, began to significantly enlarge England's urban centers.

London, in particular was impacted by experiments in the "new" neoclassical style; Spencer House, an early neoclassical building, became the subject of countless sketches, engravings, and paintings even before its completion in1765.[26] The contrast between the clean, white lines of the first neoclassical buildings in London and their surrounding brick and timber-framed structures fascinated both artists and scholars alike.

Neoclassicism and Proto-Archaeology

The mid-eighteenth century saw a new generation of architects, who, breaking from the Palladian tradition of the previous generation, promoted neoclassical ideals in Britain. These architects conducted the first archaeological surveys of sites in Italy, Greece, and Turkey, and began to physically measure and survey Greek and Roman structures themselves (no longer relying on Palladio's interpretation of Vitruvian orders). These architectural studies moved beyond measurement and into the realm of the aesthetic, leading to a debate between the rival merits of Greek and Roman architecture.

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[25] Roy Porter, *English Society in the Eighteenth Century*, 2nd Edition (London: Allen Lane, 1990) 247.
[26] Christopher S. Sykes, *Private Palaces: Life in the Great London Houses* (New York: Viking, 1986) 174

Greek and Roman sites were plundered to feed the rapacious collecting and decorating appetites of architects and patrons demanding "authenticity." Designers and their clients wanted to recapture antiquity, to give the illusion of a venerated, idealized past. Neoclassical showpieces such as Stuart's Spencer House and Adam's Kedleston, Osterley Park, and Syon House were powerful expressions of the ancient ideal (these structures are further examined in Chapter Three, "Houses as Temples", and Chapter Five, "The Neoclassical Experience in English Society").

The survey books published by the archaeological architects offered a visual reference for architects, painters, sculptors and carpenters; artifact discoveries in Italy and Greece inspired cabinetmakers, ceramicists, and even dressmakers. Knowledge of ancient material culture and forms was thus available to a broader spectrum of Britain's population, including those without a classical education. Chapter Two, The Image of Antiquity, examines four of the principal English archaeological survey volumes.

Visitors to ancient sites in the late eighteenth and early 19th centuries perceived these "archaeological grottoes" in an experiential, almost visceral way. William Bromley's seventeenth century description of the *Cento Camera* lacks the atmospheric embellishments apparent in the following 1801 account of a visit to Herculaneum:

> The city of Herculaneum has been buried by successive showers of ashes, and floods of lava, to the depth of sixty or eighty feet. Its subterranean excavations can therefore only be seen by the light of flambeaux, which must be held up to the dripping walls to display the fresco paintings, and dedicatory

inscriptions, in which musty cavities, for ever hidden, from the face of day, preserve for modern eyes the obsolete language of ancient Rome.[27]

The Society of Dilettanti fostered English interest in the antiquities of Italy and Greece but, curiously enough, not the Society of Antiquaries.[28] The Dilettanti were inspired by (and promoted) travels abroad; Sir Francis Dashwood founded the Society in 1734 to promote "knowledge and understanding of classical art and taste in England."[29] The Society of Dilettanti funded James Stuart's and Nicholas Revett's Athenian research and publications, and Society members provided most of the architects' commissions (including West Wycombe Park and Spencer House). Chapter Five discusses the role the Dilettanti played in the publication of two major archaeological texts in the eighteenth century.

The Society of Antiquaries in London was primarily interested in native English antiquities, and was slightly more egalitarian than the elitist Dilettanti. Horace Walpole ridiculed the Antiquaries for "hold[ing] everything worth preserving merely because it has been preserved."[30] The Society of Antiquaries received a Royal charter in 1751, but did not begin to publish its *Archaologica* Journal until the 1770s. The Society's interests had broadened by this time to include classical antiquities, and its membership base increased accordingly.

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[27] Joseph Sansom, *Travels from Paris through Switzerland and Italy, in the years 1801 and 1802* (London: Printed for Richard Phillips by J. G. Barnard, 1808) 208-209.
[28] Betty Kemp, *Sir Francis Dashwood: An Eighteenth Century Independent* (London: McMillan, 1967) 95.
[29] Kemp, *Dashwood*, 101.
[30] Kemp, *Dashwood*, 104.

The 1770s also saw a refining of classical interest in England. The later neoclassical movement was defined by a conflict between two opposing philosophical camps: those who favored the Ionic and Corinthian styles, and the adherents to the Doric Order. Charles "Athenian" Stuart greatly admired the Doric; Robert Adam preferred the Ionic and Corinthian. All the neoclassical practitioners shared a common concern: the quest for absolute authenticity in the understanding and reproduction of ancient forms of art, architecture.

One byproduct of this search for authenticity was the archaeological grotto: ancient sites excavated in the search for antiquities, investigations of genuine ruins overwhelmed by time and nature, and artificial simulacra dug into English landscape gardens. Physical representations of antiquity heightened the impact of experience and association, aspects of perception that were as significant in the eighteenth century as they are in modern archaeological theory today.

Locke, Hume, and Alison: Association, Experience, and the Pleasures of Imagination

It is not surprising that neoclassicism in eighteenth century England possesses perceptibly experiential aspects. Two of the most prominent and celebrated philosophers of the age, John Locke and David Hume, were concerned with notions of perception, experience, knowledge acquisition, the formation of ideas, and reflection and association; these concepts were central motifs in eighteenth century thought.

Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1692) and Hume's *Treatise of Human Nature* (1739) were immensely popular works in the eighteenth century, and are still studied by philosophers today. Another theorist, Archibald Alison, published an *Essays on the Nature and Principles of Taste* in 1790. Alison's concepts of association and reflection demonstrate the evolution of experiential theory over time.

John Locke, writing at the end of the seventeenth century, was influenced by two seemingly opposing traditions: the new sciences of the Enlightenment, and the older traditions of text-based scholarship.[31] Locke classifies ideas as simple or complex, and theorizes that knowledge acquisition is an internal response to external stimuli:

> Division of simple ideas. The better to conceive the ideas we receive from sensation, it may not be amiss for us to consider them, in reference to the different ways whereby they make their approaches to our minds, and make themselves perceivable by us.[32]
>
> Simple ideas are the operations of mind about its other ideas. The mind receiving the ideas…from without, when it turns its view inward upon itself, and observes its own actions about those ideas it has, takes from thence other ideas, which are as capable to be objects of its contemplation as any of those received from foreign things.[33]

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[31] John W. Yolton, *John Locke and the Way of Ideas* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968) 97-98.
[32] John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690), Chapter III, "Of Simple Ideas of Sense," 103 (The Electronic Classics Series, Jim Manis, Editor, Hazleton: PSU-Hazleton, Hazleton, 2013) September 22, 2013 <http://www2.hn.psu.edu/faculty/jmanis/locke/humanund.pdf>.
[33] Locke, *Essay*, Chapter VI, "Of Simple Ideas of Reflection," 110.

Yolton's modern analyses of Locke emphasize the empirical (and experiential) nature of knowledge acquisition in the *Essay*. "The empiricist program has been designed to show that all conscious experience 'comes from' unconscious encounters with the environment, and that all intellectual contents (concepts, ideas) derive from some conscious experiential component."[34] Yolton further emphasizes the importance of internalizing external sensation:

> External sensible objects and internal operations of the mind are the things and processes upon which the attentive faculty of the mind is directed and from which ideas are derived in some way. Knowledge is both *founded in* and *derived from* these sources, in the sense that the material for knowledge, ideas, is generated by sensation and reflection, those two fountainheads of experience.[35]

In Locke's theory, perception is also dependent upon reflection and personal will:

> The idea of perception, and idea of willing, we have from reflection. The two great and principal actions of the mind, which are most frequently considered, and which are so frequent that every one that pleases may take notice of them in himself, are these two:
>
> Perception, or Thinking; and
>
> Volition, or Willing.

[34] John Yolton, "The Concept of Experience in Locke and Hume," *Journal of the History of Philosophy* 1:1 (1963), 53. September 22, 2013 <http://muse.jhu.edu/hph/summary/v001/1.1yolton.html>.
[35] Yolton, "Concept," 56.

> The power of thinking is called the Understanding, and the power of volition is called the Will: and these two powers or abilities in the mind are dominated faculties. [36]
>
> Perception is the first simple idea of reflection. Perception, as it is the first faculty of the mind exercised about our ideas; so it is the first and simplest idea we have from reflection, and is by some called thinking in general. Though thinking, in the propriety of the English tongue, signifies the sort of operation in the mind about its ideas, wherein the mind is active; where it, with some degree of voluntary attention, considers anything. For in bare naked perception, the mind is, for the most part, only passive; and what it perceives, it cannot avoid perceiving.
>
> Reflection alone can give us the idea of what perception is. What perception is, every one will know better by reflecting on what he does himself, when he sees, hears, feels &c., or thinks, than by any discourse of mine. Whoever reflects on what passes in his own mind cannot miss it. And if he does not reflect, all the words in the world cannot make him have any notion of it.[37]

Locke's *Essay*, though written in the seventeenth century, was nevertheless highly influential for eighteenth century philosophers. Locke's notions of reflection, idea formation, and knowledge acquisition were further explored by later writers; most notably, perhaps, by Hume.

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[36] Locke, *Essay*, Chapter VI, "Of Simple Ideas of Reflection," 110.
[37] Locke, *Essay*, Chapter IX, "Of Perception," 126.

David Hume (1711-1776) was influenced by Locke, as evidenced in the *Treatise on Human Nature*. "The causal sequence responsible for the generation of mental contents is the same in Hume's account as in Locke's: neurophysiological processes, sensation, impression, ideas."[38] As with Locke, Hume was concerned with the effect of sensory perception on idea formation:

> …All our arguments concerning causes and effects consist both of an impression of the memory or senses, and of the idea of that existence, which produces the object of the impression, or is produc'd by it. Here therefore we have three things to explain, viz. First, The original impression. Secondly, The transition to the idea of the connected cause or effect. Thirdly, the nature and qualities of that idea.
>
> As to those impressions, which arise from the senses, their ultimate cause is, in my opinion, perfectly inexplicable by human reason, and 'twill always be impossible to decide with certainty, whether they arise immediately from the object, or are producd' by the creative power of the mind, or are deriv'd from the author of our being. Nor is such a question any way material to our present purpose. We may draw inferences from the coherence of our perceptions, whether they be true or false; whether they represent nature justly, or be mere illusions of the senses.
>
> …Thus is appears, that the belief or assent, which always attends the memory and senses, is nothing but the vivacity of those perceptions they present; and that this alone distinguishes them from the imagination. To believe is in this

[38] Yolton, "Concept," 68.

> case to feel an immediate impression of the senses, or a repetition of that impression in the memory. 'Tis merely the force and liveliness of the perception, which constitutes the first act of the judgment, and lays the foundation of that reasoning, which we build upon it, when we trace the relation of cause and effect.[39]

Yolton identifies two "concepts of experience:" the "inductive sense," formed by sensory repetition, and the "epistemic sense," linking experience to awareness.[40] The "force" of awareness could be strengthened by "lively" experience with the past; in Hipple's view, "…the greater difficulty of forming a conception across an interval of time makes temporal distance more impressive that spatial; and the superior resistance of the past makes antiquity more admirable than futurity."[41] Indeed, Hume considered ancient literature to the simplest and most refined,[42] rarified perhaps by the passage of time. Hume's awareness of the role of imagination in perception and memory is a form of association, a mental exercise that became increasingly important in philosophical thought by the end of the eighteenth century.

Archibald Alison's (1757-1839) perceptions of association, taste, sublimity, and imagination were formed during the height of the neoclassical movement. His *Essay on*

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[39] David Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature* (1739). Reprinted from the Original Edition in three volumes and edited, with an analytical index, by L.A. Selby-Bigge, M.A. Book I, *Of the Understanding*, Part III, Section V (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1896) 50-51. September 22, 2013 <http://michaeljohnsonphilosophy.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/01/5010_Hume_Treatise_Human_Nature.pdf>.
[40] Yolton, "Concept," 61.
[41] Walter J. Hipple, *The Beautiful, the Sublime, and the Picturesque in Eighteenth Century British Aesthetic Theory* (Carbondale: The Southern Illinois University Press, 1957) 43.
[42] Timothy M. Costelloe, *The British Aesthetic Tradition, from Shaftesbury to Wittgenstein* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013) 61.

the Nature of the Emotions of Sublimity and Beauty (1790), though perhaps not "wholly original,"[43] nevertheless shows the increasing awareness of the power that history and the landscape have to inspire associative imagination.

> When any object, either of sublimity or beauty, is presented to the mind, I believe every man is conscious of a train of thought being immediately awakened in his imagination, analogous to the character or expression of the original object. The simple perception of the object, we frequently find, is insufficient to excite these emotions, unless it is accompanied with this operation of mind, unless, according to the common expression, our imagination is seized, and our fancy busied in the pursuit of all those trains of thought, which are allied to this character or expression. [44]
>
> The effect of the different arts of taste is similar. The landscapes of Claude Lorrain, the music of Handel, the poetry of Milton, excite feeble emotions in our minds, when our attention is confined to the qualities they present to our senses, or when it is to such qualities of their composition that we turn our regard. It is then, only, we feel the sublimity or beauty of their productions, when our imaginations are kindled by their power, when we lose ourselves amid the number

[43] Costelloe, 118.

[44] Archibald Alison. *Essays on the nature and principles of taste.* By the Revd. Archibald Alison, LL. B. F. R. S. Edin. Dublin, M.DCC.XC (1790), Chapter I, Section I, 2. (*Eighteenth Century Collections Online,* Gale. University of Minnesota. September 22. 2013 <http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ECCO&userGroupName=umn_wilson&tabID=T001&docId=CW105254515&type=multipage&contentSet=ECCOArticles&version=1.0&docLevel=FASCIMILE>.

of images that pass before our minds, and when we waken at last from this play of fancy, as from the charm of a romantic dream.[45]

There are many other instances equally familiar which are sufficient to shew, that whatever increases this exercise or employment of Imagination, increases also the emotion of beauty and sublimity.

This is very obviously the effect of all Associations. There is no man, who has not some interesting associations with particular scenes, or airs, or books, and who does not feel their beauty or sublimity enhanced to him, by such connections.[46]

One of the sublimest objects in natural scenery, is an old and deep wood covering the side of a mountain, when seen from below; yet how much greater the sublimity is given to it, by Dr. Akenside, by the addition of the solemn images which in the following lines are associated with it?

> Mark the sable woods
> That shade sublime yon mountain's nodding brow.
> With what religious awe, the solemn scene
> Commands your steps! As if the reverend form
> Of Minos or of Numa, should forsake
> Th' Elysian seats, and down th' embowering glade
> Move to your pausing eye. - *Pleasures of Imagination,* Book 3.[47]

[45] Alison, *Essays*, Chapter I, Section I, 3.
[46] Alison, *Essays*, Chapter III, Section I, 14.
[47] Alison, Essays, Chapter III, Section I, 18.

Alison sees beauty and "sublimity" in a landscape enriched by historical association. As Costelloe suggests, "When, for example, the imagination is exercised to the point that ideas 'fill the mind,' an otherwise ordinary object 'becomes sublime': a common field associated with a glorious battle, the already majestic view of the Alps connected with Hannibal, or the Rubicon with Caesar."[48] The imaginative power of the associative natural landscape also influenced the creation of artificial, "Claudian" landscapes; Chapter Four, "The Embodiment of Myth," discusses one of the most important garden schemes in England - Stourhead, Wiltshire.

Summary

This chapter only briefly touches on a few of the central tenets of highly complex theories of perception, reflection, knowledge acquisition, and association. It is, however, very clear that the eighteenth century philosophers recognized the power of sensory experience and interaction with the physical world. In the second half of the eighteenth century, the physical environment reflected a cultural fascination with antiquity and the material forms of Greece and Rome. The following chapters will explore how the neoclassical ideals were experienced; how they were physically manifested; and how neoclassicism was disseminated throughout English material culture. In the concluding chapter of this dissertation, we will see how experiential and sensory analyses have become just as important in modern archaeological theory as they were in the eighteenth century.

[48] Costelloe, 120.

Chapter Two

The Image of Antiquity

The neoclassical movement in England was fueled by a series of archaeological publications that appeared in England in the second half of the eighteenth century. The Society of Dilettanti sponsored James Stuart's and Nicholas Revett's four-volume *Antiquities of Athens* and Robert Wood's *Antiquities of Ionia*; Wood also authored two highly influential volumes, *The Ruins of Palmyra* (1753) and *The Ruins of Balbec* (1757); Robert Adam published *The Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Dioclesian at Spalatro* (1764), and Thomas Major produced *The Ruins of Paestum* (1768).

Neoclassical architecture in the eighteenth century was dependent upon Greek and Roman antiquity as a source of inspiration: design origins that could be tied to actual ruins that had been measured, analyzed, and drawn by first-hand observers, who could attest to the validity of an antique origin. One very important aspect of the "archaeological" publications is that they described and illustrated remote locations that would pose logistical difficulties for the general Grand Tourist (and significant personal danger as well). Robert Adam had to contend with Venetian officials at Spalatro (who believed that he was spying for the English), and Paestum was surrounded by malarial swamps. The archaeological architects described, measured, and imaged ancient structures and sites; the antiquities so dramatically portrayed were accessible to anyone who could afford to purchase the surveys. These volumes offered vicarious travel experiences: engaging the imagination; allowing a viewer to explore ancient sites through

deliberately arranged sequences of images. Archaeological surveys also became weapons in a battle between the supremacy of Greece or Rome as the "purest" source of neoclassical inspiration. The Society of Dilettanti, firm advocates of Grecian superiority, sponsored the Stuart and Revett expedition to survey the antiquities of Athens (there will be further discussion about James Stuart and the Dilettanti in Chapter Five, "Classical Consumers"). Supporters of a Roman-based view of antiquity, such as Robert Adam and Giovanni Battista Piranesi, published their own surveys and drawings. All of the imagery generated by the archaeological surveys provided an experience of antiquity that was visual, not text-based. They engaged a reader's imagination with accessible images of remote ancient sites: scenes that could be read without prior knowledge of ancient literature and architecture. The virtual travel experiences that the archaeological surveys provided made the physical remains of antiquity tangible, and would, in turn result in representational and replicated neoclassical structures in England.

Robert Wood and *The Ruins of Palmyra*

> Two gentlemen, whose curiosity had carried them more than once to the continent, particularly to Italy, thought, that a voyage, properly conducted, to the most remarkable places of antiquity, on the coast of the Mediteranean, might produce amusement and improvement to themselves, as well as some advantage to the public.[49]

The "two gentlemen" were wealthy collectors, James Dawkins and John Bouverie; after encountering Robert Wood in Rome (where he was working as a

[49] Robert Wood, *The Ruins of Palmyra* (London, 1754) 1.

secretary and tutor), they invited him to join their expedition.[50] Wood was an experienced traveler; in his middle twenties, Wood had sailed the Greek islands, and "reached Egypt, Syria, and Mesopotamia."[51] Wood makes it clear that the travelers *were* gentlemen, men of culture, with the financial resources and social connections to conduct an extended Grand Tour.[52]

> The knowledge I had of those gentlemen, in different tours through France and Italy, promised all the success we could wish from such a voyage; their strict friendship for one another, their love of antiquities, and the fine arts, and their being well accustomed for several years to travelling, were circumstances very requisite to our scheme, but rarely to be met with in two persons, who with taste and leisure for such enquiries, are equal both the expence and fatigue of them.[53]

John Bouverie studied classics at Oxford; his Jacobite sympathies prompted an extended Grand Tour and residence in Italy. There, Bouverie encountered an extremely wealthy Oxford friend, James Dawkins,[54] and the two began to plan a trip to the Levant in 1749. After recruiting Robert Wood, the group then contacted an Italian draftsman, Giovanni Battista Borra, and engaged his services for the expedition. Bouverie, Dawkins, Wood, and Borra sailed from Naples in May, 1750.[55]

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[50] Bruce Redford, *Dilettanti: The Antic and the Antique in Eighteenth-Century England* (Los Angles: The J. Paul Getty Museum and Research Institute, 2008) 204.
[51] T. J. B Spencer, "Robert Wood and the Problem of Troy in the Eighteenth Century, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 20:1/2 (1957) 75. April 11, 2013 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/750152>.
[52] Redford, "Measure," 5.
[53] Wood, *Palmyra*, 1.
[54] Nicholas Turner, "John Bouverie as a Collector of Drawings," *The Burlington Magazine* 136:1091 (Feb 1994) 94. April 11, 2013 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/885950>.
[55] Redford, *Dilettanti*, 204.

> We met our ship at Naples in the spring. She brought from London a library, consisting chiefly of all the Greek historians and poets, some books of antiquities, and the best voyage writers, what mathematical instruments we thought necessary, and such things as might be proper presents for the Turkish Grandees, or others, to whom, in the course of our voyage, we should be obliged to address ourselves.[56]

Wood established the expedition's credentials: they were well read, familiar with the relevant histories, literature, and antiquities, and possessed the technical expertise to conduct a measured survey of ancient sites. They were also diplomats, with the social finesse to negotiate (or bribe) passage through potentially hostile Islamic territories.

> Circumstances of climate and situation, otherwise trivial, become interesting from that connection with great men, and great actions, which history and poetry have given them: The life of Miltiades or Leonidas could never be read with so much pleasure, as on the plains of Marathon or at the streights of Thermopylae; the Iliad has new beauties on the banks of the Scamander, and the Odysse is most pleasing in the countries where Ulysses travelled and Homer sung.
>
> This particular pleasure, it is true, which an imagination warmed on the spot receives from those scenes of heroic actions, the traveler can only feel, nor is it to be communicated by description. But classical ground not only makes us always relish the poet, or historian more, but sometimes helps us to understand them better. Where we thought the present fact of the country was the best comment on an antient author, we made our draftsman take a view, or make a

[56] Wood, *Palmyra*, 2.

> plan of it. …Inscriptions we copied as they fell in our way, and carried off the marbles whenever it was possible; for the avarice or superstition of the inhabitants made that task difficult and sometimes impracticable.[57]

The survey methodology was text based, driven by the histories and poetry that well-read gentleman of taste (and leisure) would be familiar with. They collected inscriptions and "marbles" with, of course, little concern for context. The fragments had their own associative value, but the expeditionary practice of "carrying them off" was, as they saw it, an act of rescue, not plunder.

> Architecture took up our chief attention; and in this enquiry our expectations were fully satisfied. All lovers of that art must be sensible that the measures of anctient buildings of Rome, by Monsieur Desgodetz, have been the greatest use: We imagined by attempting to follow the same method in those countries where architecture had its origin, or at least arrived at the highest degree of perfection it has ever attained, we might do service.[58]

Desgodetz, as we saw in Chapter One, recognized that the most important aspect of the archaeological survey was the use of highly accurate imagery: engaging a viewer's visual imagination, while displaying antiquities in a scientifically exact, almost dissected manner. Appendix B contains plates from Desgodetz's *Les Edifices Antiques De Rome*, showing the exacting deconstruction of the Pantheon, Colosseum, and Arch of Constantine. Wood, Dawkins, and Bouverie "…followed Desgodetz to the letter (far

[57] Wood, *Palmyra*, 2.
[58] Wood, *Palmyra*, 2.

more than any Frenchman ever did), insisting on scrupulous impartiality."[59] The volumes were also propaganda pieces, attempting to establish the preeminence of Greek architecture in the minds of classical enthusiasts, architects, and English polite society. The expedition examined the development of Greek architecture *in situ*, attempting to establish the proper sequence of the Greek orders:

> The examples of the three Greek orders in architecture, which we met with, might furnish a tolerable history of the rise and progress of that art, at least the changes it underwent, from the time of Pericles to that of Dioclesian. We thought it would be proper to give Palmyra first, as that part about which the curiosity of the publick seems most pressing; the success which this work meets, will determine the fate of the rest.[60]

The Ruins of Palmyra and its sequel, *The Ruins of Balbec*, would prove to be critical and financial successes, but they were almost never written. John Bouverie died of a fever on September 18, 1750, and was buried in Smyrna.[61]

> How much the loss of such a person must have broke in upon the spirit of our party, may easily be supposed. Had he lived to have seen Palmyra we should, no doubt, have less occasion to beg indulgence for such inaccuracies as may be found in the following work.
>
> An accident so highly distressing might have entirely disconcerted us, had it not been for the uncommon activity and resolution of our surviving friend; and,

[59] Harris and Savage, 50.
[60] Wood, *Palmyra*, 3.
[61] Turner,"Bouverie," 99.

> indeed, if any thing could make us forget that Mr. Bouverie was dead, it was that Mr. Dawkins was living.[62]

The expedition became, in a sense, a tribute to John Bouvierie, who sacrificed his life in the pursuit of knowledge and scientific truth. In Robert Wood's view, "the principal merit of works of this kind is the truth."[63] Thus, the stage is set for *The Ruins of Palmyra*. The descriptions and illustrations that present a "true" image of Greek antiquity were obtained with great difficulty and personal sacrifice, in an epic undertaking worthy of the spirit of Homer and Odysseus.

Palmyra lies on an ancient trade route north-east of Damascus. The site is surrounded by sparsely populated steppes and the Syrian desert.[64] With evidence of settlements dating from 2000 BCE, Palmyra became a trade center of increasing size and importance through the third and second centuries BCE.[65] Palmyra maintained its independence until 272 CE, when the Roman Emperor Aurelian "humbled" the city. Aurelian forced the Palmyrene Queen, Zenobia, to walk in gold chains in his triumphal procession in Rome.[66] (Robert Wood's history of Queen Zenobia is transcribed in Appendix A of this dissertation.) Centuries of trade wealth produced a city of imposing Greek and Roman structures, preserved by the surrounding desert. Wood, Dawkins, and Borra crossed the desert in March, 1751 (the account of this journey is also transcribed in Appendix A).

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[62] Wood, *Palmyra*, 3.
[63] Wood, *Palmyra*, 1.
[64] Ian Browning, *Palmyra* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1979) 13.
[65] Kazimierz Michalowski, *Palmyra* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1968) 6.
[66] Paul MacKenrick, *The Greek Stones Speak: The Story of Archaeology in Greek Lands* (New York, W.W. Norton, 1981) 456.

Figure 2- 1 and 2-2 show parts of a panoramic "View of the Ruined City of Palmyra", with noteworthy structures given a letter reference for further "explication." Figure 2-3 "A Geometrical Plan" illustrates the physical layout of the site, indicating structures in relation to their surrounding topography. The Temple of the Sun (Figure 2-4) and a "Little Temple" (Figure 2-5) are relatively solid structures surrounded by a shattered landscape of broken masonry. Figure 2-6 shows a colonnade; the "tribunal of a Basilica" appears in Figure 2-7. Stylistic elements observed in the individual structures were dissected and extrapolated from surviving fragments (Figures 2-8, 2-9 and 2-10).

Palmyra was systematically described, each lettered structure or feature in the "panoramic view" was shown in different perspectives, from a cluster of columns in a landscape, to the individual column capitals and entablature motifs. Wood did not attempt to name "unknown" structures; the plate description refer to "a Small Temple", or "sepulcher", or "the building." Known historical associations could be applied to the Temple of the Sun (through historical accounts of Zenobia), but Wood was unwilling to apply undocumented labels to the structures the expedition examined. Not only does this aspect of the work reflect Robert Wood's value for "truth", it also allows a viewer to engage in the landscape with their own imagination and associations.

The Ruins of Balbec

The success of the 1753 publication of *The Ruins of Palmyra* prompted a sequel volume: *The Ruins of Balbec* followed in 1757. Robert Wood and James Dawkins travelled to "Balbec" (modern Baalbek, Roman Heliopolis) from Palmyra in March, 1751

(a transcript of the "Journey from Palmyra to Balbek" appears in Appendix A). Wood was very conscious that the greatest appeal of the surveys lay in their images they contained, and stressed the importance of the plates in his introduction:

> Having observed that descriptions of ruins, without accurate drawings, seldom preserve more of their subject than it's confusion, we shall, as in the Ruins of Palmyra, refer our reader almost entirely to the plates; where his information will be more full and circumstantial, as well as less tedious and confused, than could be conveyed by the happiest precision of language. It shall also, in this, as in the former volume, be our principal care to produce things as we found them, leaving reflections and reasonings upon them to others.
>
> This last rule we shall scrupulously observe in describing the Buildings; where all criticism on the beauties and faults of the Architecture is left entirely to the reader. If in this preliminary discourse we intermix a few observations of our own, not so necessarily connected with the subject, it is with a view to throw a little variety into a very dry collection of facts, from which at any rate we cannot promise much entertainment.[67]

Figure 2-11 is a plan of Balbec; Figure 2-12 is a panoramic view of the site. As in the Palmyra volume, Wood outlined the general context of the structures of the survey, then focused on specific buildings and design elements. Figure 2-13 shows the portico of the "Great Temple"; Figures 2-14, 2-15, and 2-16 display (respectively) the exterior, interior, and reconstructed section for the "Most Entire Temple." The "Circular Temple" (Figure 2-17) was a popular image, and even inspired the 1765 "Temple of Apollo" at Stourhead

[67] Robert Wood, *The Ruins of Balbec* (London, 1757) 1.

landscape garden (Chapter Four of this dissertation contains a further discussion about Stourhead). Wood intended these images to be a source of inspiration for builders and designers; Figure 2-18 is an example of the type of intricate, ornamental elements that could be interpreted in neoclassical designs.[68]

However confident Wood was about the expedition's ability to accurately record ancient sites as they found them, he would not commit to any building description or association without confirmation from textual sources:

> When we compare the ruins of Balbec with those of many antient cities which we visited in Italy, Greece, Egypt, and in other parts of Asia, we cannot help thinking them the remains of the boldest plan we ever saw attempted in architecture. Is it not strange then that the age and undertaker of works, in which solidity and duration have been so remarkably consulted, should be a matter of such obscurity, that from all we have been able to learn we cannot promise to give entire satisfaction on that head?[69]

The Ruins of Balbec and *The Ruins of Palmyra* were works of "scrupulous delineation," with data translated into illustrations that were both accurate and clear.[70] While the surveys were valuable contributions to scholarship, Wood's "cold detachment"[71] did not appeal to every classicist. In a 1757 letter to his brother James, Robert Adam described his "…private opinion that Taste & Truth, or as W. terms it,

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[68] Palmyra decorative elements were used in domestic structures; see Richard Hewlings, "A Palmyra Ceiling in Lincoln." *Architectural History* 31 (1988) 166-170. April 11, 2013 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1568541>.
[69] Wood, *Balbec*, 6.
[70] Redford, "Measure," 12.
[71] Harris and Savage, 494.

Accuracy, are not the Characteristics or Qualifications of these Works. They are as hard as Iron, & as false as Hell…"[72] Robert Adam would have the opportunity to face the literary and neoclassical critics himself in 1762, when he published his own archaeological survey. And, with Adam, atmosphere was never sacrificed for accuracy.

The Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Dioclesian

The Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Dioclesian at Spalatro, is an extraordinary combination of archeological precision, theatrical fabrication, and unabashed self-promotion. Its author, Robert Adam, knew the value of dramatic imagery and the impact of first-hand contact with antiquity. After spending five years in Rome, he came to believe that architecture rose to its greatest heights under the Romans, not the Greeks.

Robert Adam was the son of a successful Scottish architect, William Adam; when his father died, Robert inherited £5000 (a gentleman's income)[73]. He decided to invest his patrimony in a protracted Grand Tour, taking up residence in Italy in 1754. He soon realized that his drafting skills were inadequate for recording the antiquities around him, and decided on a remarkable improvement scheme. Though ostensibly a gentleman of leisure, with a house, servants, and carriage, he was also learning to draw. His "assistant", Charles Louis Clerisseau, was in reality a teacher and guide. Adam also made the acquaintance of Giovanni Battista Piranesi; Piranesi's engravings of Roman antiquities were famous throughout Europe, and were notable for their dramatic, less than

[72] Wiebenson, 96.
[73] John Fleming, *Robert Adam and His Circle in Edinburgh and Rome* (London: John Murray, 1962) 106.

accurate portrayal of the grandeur of Rome. Robert Adam came to share Piranesi's views of the preeminence of Roman antiquity; this is not surprising, as the two became (for a time) friends and colleagues.[74] Piranesi engraved four of the plates in the Adams' *Works in Architecture*, and dedicated his publication *Campus Martius* (1762) to "Roberto Adam Britann. Architecto Celebirrim."[75]

Robert Adam also met Robert Wood in Rome; the reputation Wood gained from the Palmyra expedition made Adam very aware of the importance of self-promotion.[76] Adam realized that a successful architectural practice in London would be dependent upon a documented neoclassical pedigree, and decided on an expedition of his own. Diocletian's Palace had not been surveyed, it was relatively close to Rome, and had a potentially impactful grandeur. In his introduction to *The Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Dioclesian*, Adam explains the expedition's rationale:

> Scarce any monuments remain of Grecian or Roman magnificence but public buildings. Temples, amphitheatres, and baths, are the only works which had the grandeur and solidity enough to resist the injuries of time, and to defy the violence of the barbarians: the private but splendid edifices in which the citizens of Athens and Rome resided, have all perished…There is not any misfortune which an Architect is more apt to regret than the destruction of these buildings; nor could anything more sensibly gratify his curiosity, or improve his taste, than to have an opportunity of viewing the private edifices of the Ancients, and of

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[74] Iain Gordon Brown, *Monumental Reputation: Robert Adam and the Emperor's Palace* (Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland, 1992) 18.
[75] Robert Oresko, "Introduction," *The Works in Architecture of Robert and James Adam, London, 1773-1778*. Reprint, Robert Oresko, ed. (London: Academy Editions, 1975) 22.
[76] Harris and Savage, 78.

collecting, from his own observation, such ideas concerning the disposition, the form, and ornaments, and uses of the several apartments, as no description can supply.

This thought often occurred to me during my residence in Italy; nor could I help considering my knowledge of Architecture as imperfect, unless I should be able to add the observation of a private edifice of the Ancients to my study of their public works. This led me to form the scheme of visiting the Ruins of the Emperor DIOCLESIAN's Palace at Spalatro, in Dalmatia; that favorite building, in which, after resigning the empire, he chose to reside. I knew, from the accounts of former travelers, that the remains of this palace, though tolerably intire, had never been observed with any accuracy, or drawn with any taste; I was no stranger to the passion of that prince to Architecture, which prompted him to erect many grand and expensive structures at Rome, Nicomedia, Milan, Palmyra, and other places in his dominions; I had viewed his public baths at Rome, one of the noblest, as well as most entire, of all the ancient buildings, with no less admiration than care; I was convinced, notwithstanding the visible decline in Architecture, as well as of the other arts, before the reign of Dioclesian, that his munificence had revived a taste in Architecture superior to that of his own times, and had formed artists capable of imitating, with no inconsiderable success, the stile and manner of a purer age.[77]

Adam sets his survey apart from the others: he is not merely surveying an imposing ruin, he is documenting the semi-private residence of a retired Roman emperor. Diocletian

[77] Robert Adam, *The Ruins of the Emperor Dioclesian at Spalatro* (London, 1764) 1-2.

was also an "imitator", reviving a "purer" style of Greek architecture – not only in Rome, but Palmyra as well. In this view, Diocletian was as much of a neoclassicist as Adam himself. Wood, Stuart, and Revett could measure all the temples and towers of Greece and Asia Minor, but they still would not have Adam's experience with ancient "domestic" architecture. And for his potential clients in Britain, this expertise would offer the greatest scope for the construction of their own personal Imperial palaces.

Spalatro (present day Split, Croatia) is a harbor city on the Adriatic coast. At the time of Robert Adam's visit, "Dalmatia" was under Venetian control.

> …I undertook my voyage to Dalmatia with the most sanguine hopes, and flattered myself that it would be attended not only with instruction to myself, but might produce entertainment to the public.
>
> Having prevailed on M. Clerisseau, a French artist, from whose taste and knowledge of antiquities I was certain of receiving great assistance in the execution of my scheme, to accompany in this expedition, and having engaged two draughtsmen, of whose skill and accuracy I had long experience, we set sail from Venice on the 11th of July, 1757, and on the 22nd of that month arrived at Spalatro.
>
> The city, though of no great extent, is so happily situated that it appears, when viewed from the sea, not only picturesque but magnificent. As we entered a grand bay, and sailed slowly towards the harbor, the Marine Wall, and long Arcades of the Palace, one of the ancient Temples, and other parts of that building which was the object of our voyage, presented themselves to our view, and

> flattered me, from this first prospect, that my labor in visiting it would be amply rewarded.[78]

The local authorities at Spalatro were concerned that Adam's survey of the palace might compromise the city's defenses; fortunately, the commander of the Venetian forces, General Graeme, was a fellow Scotsman. Graeme persuaded the Venetian governor to allow Adam supervised access to the palace. After five weeks, they completed "with an accuracy that afforded me great satisfaction, those parts of our work which it was necessary to execute on the spot."[79] Figure 2-19 is a site plan of Spalatro and the Palace; Figure 2-20 is a view of the "Crypto Porticus". The palace wall has an aggrandized, Piranesian perspective: the looming, massively elongated palace façade dwarfs the harbor scene at its base. Figure 2-21 shows the Peristyle, perhaps the most well-known, and most influential view in the book. There is a view of the interior of the Temple of Jupiter (Figure 2-22), and decorative details from the palace (Figures 2-23 and 2-24).

The plates in Adam's survey do not show the clinical, scientific detachment of Wood's *Palmyra* and *Balbec*. They show populated ruins, overgrown and battered by time; they are part of the fabric of a city. Adam wanted to convey the emotional aspect of the ruins – their "grandeur and simplicity"[80] Strict accuracy therefore, was always less essential when a more atmospheric interpretation was possible. Nevertheless, Adam was compelled to acknowledge the importance of the other archaeological surveys, and place his *Ruins* in context:

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[78] Adam, *Ruins*, 2-3.
[79] Adam, *Ruins*, 3.
[80] Harris and Savage, 76.

> Encouraged by the favorable reception which has been given of late to works of this kind, particularly to the Ruins of Palmyra and Balbec, I now present the fruits of my labor to the public. I am far from comparing my undertaking with that of Messieurs Dawkins, Bouverie, and Wood, one of the most splendid and liberal that was ever attempted by private persons. I was not, like these gentlemen, obligated to travel desarts, or to expose myself to the insults of barbarians; nor can the remains of a single Palace vie with those surprising and almost unknown monuments of sequestered grandeur which they have brought to light; but at a time when the admiration of the Grecian and Roman Architecture has risen to such a height in Britain, to banish, in a great measure all fantastic and frivolous tastes, and to make it necessary for every Architect to study and to imitate the ancient manner, I flatter myself that this work, executed at considerable expense, the effect of great labor and persistence, and which contains the only full and accurate Designs that have hitherto been published of any private Edifice of the Ancients, will be received with indulgence, and may, perhaps, be esteemed an acquisition of some importance.[81]

The Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Dioclesian was entirely collaborative. Robert Adam was the "author", but Clerisseau drew and painted the buildings; Robert's Brother, James Adam, supervised the publication process; and William Robertson, a cousin and historian, wrote the introduction. Adam never acknowledged Clerisseau's full

[81] Adam, *Ruins*, 4.

role in the project; Clerisseau produced the on-site and final drawings, and directed the engraving in Venice.[82] However,

…difficulties with the engravers, inaccuracies needing correction, the lack of money, and the appearance of the first volume of Stuart and Revett's book on Athens in 1762 delayed the whole volume. Robert Adam was already showing business acumen, frustrating as he found the delay, by postponing his own volume's appearance until the fuss over Stuart and Revett's folio had died away.[83]

Adam paid for the expedition and directed the work. He needed to market himself as an "archaeological architect": *The Ruins* was an advertisement for Adam's architectural firm, cloaked "…as a scrupulous architectural treatise."[84] It was also a promise of the opulence and grandeur that he could provide for his English clients.

Robert Adam understood, in a way the more clinically accurate Dilettani authors did not, that a more aggrandized view of Roman antiquity would appeal to a broader range of potential consumers of the neoclassic revolution. *The Ruins of Palace of the Emperor Dioclesian at Spalatro* formed the basis of one of the most successful architectural practices in eighteenth century London. And, perhaps, the success of Adam's *Ruins* even influenced another archaeological travel book: *The Ruins of Paestum*, by Thomas Major.

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[82] Harris and Savage, 76.
[83] Geoffrey Beard, *The Work of Robert Adam* (New York: Arco Publishing Co., Inc., 1978) 5.
[84] Redford, "Measure," 34.

The Ruins of Paestum

> Of all the Nations of Antiquity, the GREEKS may justly claim the superiority, as they furnish History with precious Monuments and illustrious Achievements; whether we consider the Glory of their Arms, the Wisdom of their Laws, or their other Accomplishments: Every circumstance concurred to render Greece a school for the rest of Mankind.[85]

The "discovery" of Paestum in the 1750s (the site was long known, but long ignored) reawakened interest in Doric and Attic architecture. Paestum (Greek Poseidonia) is a site in southern Italy settled by Greek colonists around 550 BCE. Three major temples survive: the Basilica (550 BCE; now called the First Temple of Hera), the Second Temple of Hera (510 BCE, once called Temple of Poseidon) and the Temple of Athena (460-450 BCE).[86] In the eighteenth century, Paestum was isolated by malarial swamps; the relative inaccessibility of the site assisted to preserve the Paestum temples. Not every traveler felt the site warranted the effort it took to get there. James Adam reported to his brother, Robert, on the conditions he observed at Paestum in November, 1761:

> …the famous antiquities so much talked of of late as wonders but which, curiosity apart don't merit half the time and trouble they have cost me. They are

[85] Thomas Major, *The Ruins of Paestum* (London, 1768) 1.
[86] MacKendrick, *Greek Stones,* 230-232.

> of an age early, an inelegant and unenriched Doric, that afford no detail and scarcely produce two good views. So much for Paestum.[87]

Antonio Joli, an Italian court painter, visited the site and produced eleven views that were "widely seen" in Europe.[88] Sir James Gray, a prominent Dilettant and envoy to the Kingdom of Naples, commissioned two views of Paestum from Joli, Acting as a "cultural agent," he disseminated images of Paestum to his contacts in Italy, France, and England.[89]

Thomas Major, one of England's most accomplished engravers, produced a bound survey of Paestum in 1768: *The Ruins of Paestum, otherwise Posidonia, in Magna Graecia*. As "an engraver to His Majesty", Major's subscription list included " The KING, His Majesty the KING of POLAND, and so on. The origins of the *Ruins of Paestum* are somewhat questionable: in his forward, Major acknowledges the collaborative nature of the project:

> The City of Paestum, or Posidonia, whose Remains are here exhibited, hath been, 'till very lately, almost buried in Oblivion. The Causes of the Depopulation of Magna Graecia extending to this City, have for many Ages, rendered its Territories a Desert, unfrequented by the adjacent Inhabitants, and little is known to Travellers. However, within these few Years, this Place has been visited by the Curious; and among others, by an English gentleman, to whom the following Work owes its Birth; and who

[87] James Adam, Fleming, 293.
[88] Sigrid de Jong, "Staging Ruins: Paestum and Theatricality," *Art History* 33:2 (2010) 337. January 28, 2013 <DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-8365.2010.004747.x>.
[89] de Jong, 338.

> procured at Naples several fine Drawings of these Temples. The other Views were taken in Presence of his Excellency Sir James Gray, whilst His Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary at the Court of Naples. The Plans, Elevations, and Measures, the Public owe to that eminent Artist, Mons. J. G. Soufflot: They were by him accurately taken on the spot, and he has generously assisted the Engraver in this undertaking.[90]

According to Harris and Savage (who authored a comprehensive, well respected survey of the English travel books), the "English gentleman to whom the …Work owes its Birth" is Robert Wood. Wood collected the Joli images from Gray in Naples, acquired Soufflot's surveys and images, and passed them on to Major. In truth, Thomas Major never visited Paestum, and the entire volume was derived from second hand sources.[91] Given Wood's reputation for scientific accuracy and on-the-spot veracity, it is unsurprising that he would not assume authorship of *The Ruins of Paestum*. Wood's choice of Thomas Major is also not surprising: Major engraved several plates of the *Ruins of Palmyra* and *Balbec,* and had experience working with survey reports and onsite drawings. Thomas Major never assumed authorship of the volume, styling himself "the engraver." His sympathies are markedly pro-Greek; Greece:

> …may be said to have been the Center, where every Ray of Learning and Wisdom was united, which at that Time humanized and embellished the World. Therefore it is impossible not to be interested in the favour of

[90] Major, *Paestum*, 4.
[91] Harris and Savage, 305.

> such a People, especially, since their remarkable Actions have been transmitted down to us by Authors of the first Rank and Abilities; Men who distinguished themselves by their Military Exploits, as well as by their Writings, and were as great Commanders and Politicians, as excellent Historians. In the short Space of little more than a Century, they arrived to the highest Degree of Perfection in Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture, that we can scarce help considering this Age as the Golden Period.[92]

Major concedes that the Doric temples at Paestum do not reflect the highest level of achievement, but rather an early stage in the development of Greek architecture:

> This naturally raises in us a Curiosity to search into the Rise and Progress of so illustrious a People; and, with respect to the first, the Engraver hopes the present Work will fully shew the State of Grecian Architecture in its Infancy, and from thence we may trace the Steps of its progressive Improvements, to that Elegance, Grandeur, and Magnificence, which have been the Admiration of the succeeding Ages; and this Curiosity may be amply satisfied, by consulting the several very exact Representations of the noble Remains of Antiquity.[93]

Figure 2-25 is Major's perspective view of the Paestum site; Figure 2-26 provides a more detailed look at the two temples shown on the right of the landscape. Figure 2-27, labelled "A North View of the City of Paestum" is actually a view from the East gate, showing the Basilica and Temple of Hera, with the Temple of Athena "coyly" displayed

[92] Major, *Paestum*, 1.
[93] Major, *Paestum*, 1.

through a convenient gap in the gate wall.[94] Figures 2-28, "View of the Hexastyle Ipetral Temple, taken from the South," and Figure 2-29, "View of the Hexastyle Ipetral Temple, taken from the South West, show two views of the Temple of Hera. Figures 2-30 and 2-31 display two views of the Temple of Athena, the south peristyle and interior. Figure 2-32 shows the Basilica from the north-west, and Figure 2-33 is a stylistic rendering of the Doric order, showing architectural elements, their relative positions, and scale.

One question does arise: why was it necessary to produce a second-hand survey of Paestum? Robert Wood had the skills and experience to conduct a "proper" scientific survey of the site, or to appoint an expedition for that purpose. The answer may lie in the timing of the book, four years after Adam's Spalatro survey. The Dilettanti were, from a material view, losing the battle for Greek supremacy. Robert Adam's architectural practice was steadily growing, and his view of a glorified, conformable Roman antiquity was proving a commercial success. Robert Wood and the Dilettanti needed to make a case for the Doric, to delineate the Greek Orders in "proper" order. But they did not produce a "scientific", analytical view of Paestum. Rather, they adopted the aggrandized, theatrical approach that worked so well for Piranesi and Adam. The "inelegant and unenriched Doric" that so offended James Adam became accepted as an early development of Greek architecture, but not because of a rigorously scientific presentation. *The Ruins of Paestum* made the site accessible: leading a viewer through the temples by a series of staged views, creating the physical experience of an actual site visit, and engaging imaginative association.

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[94] John Giffiths Pedley, *Paestum: Greeks and Romans in Southern Italy* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1990), 16.

Conclusions

The neoclassical movement was a force of transformation, whose adherents sought to reimagine London and Britain as a new Greece and Rome. Archaeological publications contributed towards the development of neoclassical English architecture and decorative arts; and conveyed an experience of antiquity that was both accessible and inspirational. According to Arnold, "The discovery and ordering of the past played an important part in the life of modern Europe and even became a symbol of modernity. To this end, archaeology and the archaeological survey were used to excite the imagination and to proselytize ideas and to re-tell history."[95]

Each survey presented data in a deliberately contrived manner: first, a general history of the site (establishing its importance in antiquity), followed by colorful descriptions of the journey to reach it, and finally, a series of large, dramatic images. The plates were arranged in a progressive sequence, each image drawing a viewer into the site via "scripted" views. De Jong suggests that the use of imagery was theatrical: a contrived presentation designed to engage viewer participation and simulate an on-site experience. "Knowledge of architecture is not important to this experience. But these different representations of an architectural experience, and the different stages, from architecture to experience to representation of an experience, show the active role of the spectator as well."[96] In addition to offering a virtual travel experience, Arnold speculates that these images were "…a means by which the spectacular fragments of the past could be

[95] Dana Arnold, "Facts or Fragments? Visual Histories in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," *Art History* 25:4 (2002) 459. April 11, 2013 <DOI: 10.1111/1467-8365.00338>.
[96] de Jong, 348.

absorbed into the historical consciousness of the present."[97] Images themselves could become facts, "an invented cultural memory" that would serve to validate the present.

Robert Adam and Piranesi used emotion and atmosphere to heighten the impact of Roman antiquity; Wood preferred "scrupulously" accurate treatment of Greek sites. *The Ruins of Palmyra* and *Balbec* were scientific prototypes, with a clinical precision that would not become standard in archaeological texts for another century. However, the neoclassical revolution was not driven only, or even primarily, by science and exactitude. Robert Adam's *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Dioclesian* displayed the "simplicity and grandeur" of a less precise, but ultimately more usable antiquity. *The Ruins of Paestum*, ostensibly a tribute to the importance of early Greek architecture, also acknowledged the power of theatrical presentation, with less emphasis on accuracy, and more on the grandeur of a visual experience.

Robert Adam's neoclassical vision incorporated experience at its core – the experience of viewing atmospheric, emotionally charged imagery, and the experience of walking through simulated structures encapsulating that grandeur. The Adam Style created an industry that transformed English architecture and material culture; by 1770, Adam was the most successful architect practicing in London. Robert Adam had the ability to recreate the experience of antiquity on a truly grand scale – as we will see in Chapter Three, "Houses as Temples".

[97] Arnold, 456.

Chapter Three

Houses as Temples

The neoclassical movement in England was not the product of one architect, or firm of architects. James Stuart and William Chambers were significant practitioners, and there is a discussion of two of their major buildings, Spencer House (Stuart) and Somerset House (Chambers), in Chapter Five. The firm of Robert and James Adam, however, was responsible for three of the most significant neoclassical architectural experiences in England. For the purposes of this dissertation, Kedleston Hall, Syon Hall, and Osterley Park were chosen for the study, as these structures provide a wealth of information about the neoclassical experience, and the creation of a neoclassical environment.

Robert Adam and the Grandeur of Rome

Robert Adam returned from the Grand Tour in 1759, armed with an impressive collection of drawings, paintings, and antiquities.[98] This collection would serve as a source of architectural inspiration, as well as stage setting for Adam's architectural practice. He was determined to not only change the style and "taste" of English architecture, but to revolutionize the way architecture was practiced. Fourteen years after the publication of *The Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Dioclesian at Spalatro*, Robert and James Adam produced the first volume of their *Works in Architecture* (1778). The

[98]A. A. Tait, *The Adam Brothers in Rome: Drawings from the Grand Tour* (London: Scala Publishers Ltd., 2008) 105-107.

importance of antiquity in Adam's designs is illustrated in the Frontispiece (Figure 3-1): "A student conducted to Minerva, who points to Greece and Italy, as the Countries from where he must derive the most perfect Knowledge and Taste in elegant Architecture." There is a subtle iconography in this image: the adult goddess points to Italy, while the infant putto gestures to Greece. Ancient architecture thus had its origins in Greece, but reached maturity in Rome. This perception, formed in Italy, shaped by Clerisseau and Piranesi, would become a signature of the "Adam Style". Roman architecture was flexible and adaptable, drawing on a variety of sources – characteristics that were, to Robert Adam, examples of the best "taste" in architecture.

Between 1760 and 1770, the Adam firm produced drawings for 96 clients, 62 of whom were from the nobility.[99] In the introduction to the *Works*, the brothers reflected on the impact their firm had had on architecture in England:

> The novelty and variety of the following designs, will, we flatter ourselves, not only excuse, but justify our conduct, in communicating them to the world. --- We have not trod in the path of others, nor derived aid from their labours. In the works which we have had the honour to execute, we have not only met with the approbation of our employers, but even with the imitation of other artists, to such a degree, as in some measure to have brought about, in this country, a kind of revolution of the whole system of this useful and elegant art.[100]

A fundamental aspect of the Adam Style was "movement", a concept directly related to the way a building is viewed, and experienced:

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[99] Peter De Bolla, *The Education of the Eye* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003) 265.
[100] Adams, *Works*, Vol. I, 1.

> Movement is meant to express, the rise and fall, the advance and recess, with other diversity of form, in the different parts of a building, so as to add greatly to the picturesque of the composition. For the rising and falling, advancing and receding, with the convexity and concavity, and other forms of the great parts, have the same effect in architecture, that hill and dale, fore-ground and distance, swelling and sinking have in landscape: That is, they serve to produce an agreeable and diversified contour, that groups and contrasts like a picture, and creates a variety of light and shade, which gives great spirit, beauty, and effect to the composition.[101]

Three neoclassical houses exemplify this sense of "movement" – Kedleston Hall in Derbyshire, and Syon House and Osterley Park in London. In all three structures, Adam never forgot the importance of the experience of the buildings, how people lived in the structures: how they viewed, and moved, from space to space. And, the perception of space was at the heart of the Kedleston experience.

Kedleston Hall

By the time Robert Adam received his first major commission, Kedleston Hall, he had gathered together a talented group of draftsmen, plasterers (such as Joseph Rose) and painters (including Antonio Zucci, Angelica Kauffmann, Giovanni Cipriani and Biagio Rebecca), and had formed ties to the iron and ceramics industries.[102] The Adam firm

[101] Adams, *Works*, Vol. I, 1.
[102] Margaret H. B. Sanderson, *Robert Adam and Scotland: Portrait of an Architect* (Edinburgh: HMSO, 1992) 59-60.

would, over time, employ over three thousand workers.[103] Nathaniel Curzon, 1st Lord Scarsdale, demolished his family's red brick manor upon elevation to the peerage, and hired a succession of fashionable architects to rebuild Kedleston.[104] Matthew Brettingham was followed by James Paine, who was in turn replaced by James Stuart. Finally, Lord Scarsdale asked Robert Adam for a critique of the work in progress. While Adam privately believed that Stuart's designs were "'so excessively and ridiculously bad' that they 'beggared all description,'"[105] the opinions he expressed to Lord Scarsdale took the form of alternate design suggestions. He "cunningly suggested that Curzon 'call them his own fancies.'"[106] Robert Adam wrote to his brother James in Rome that:

> …every new drawing he saw made him grieve at his previous engagement with Brettingham. He carried me home in his chariot about three o'clock and kept me to four o'clock seeing all said Brettingham's designs and asked my opinion. I proposed alterations and desired he might call them his own fancies… I revised all his plans and got the entire management of his grounds… with full powers as to temples, bridges, seats and cascades, so that as it is seven miles round you may guess the play of genius and scope for invention…[107]

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[103] De Bolla, 175.
[104] Gervase Jackson-Stops, *Robert Adam at Kedleston,* Revised Edition (London: The National Trust, 1993) 9.
[105] Giles Worsley, *Classical Architecture in Britain: The Heroic Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995) 248.
[106] Eileen Harris, *The Country Houses of Robert Adam* (London: Aurum Press, 2007) 37.
[107] Sanderson, 57-58.

By 1760, Adam's triumph at Kedleston was complete: "We have had the greatest revolutions at Sir Nat's that ever you heard of…. And now none of them setts a stone or Cutts a bitt of timber without my Positive instructions…."[108]

The North Front of Kedleston owes much of its design to James Paine; when Adam took over the work, the Palladian northern wings were completed, and the central block had been started.[109] Adam altered what was basically a Palladian design by reducing the portico depth to one row of columns, and by adding Etruscan revetments to the pediment. He had to retain the Palladian character of the North Front to harmonize with the existing north wings, but he was able to produce completely new designs for the Great Hall, Salon and the distinctly archaeological South Front.[110] Here, Adam has reproduced the Arch of Constantine in a far more literal manner than his baroque predecessors would have (Figure 3-2 and 3-3); an inscription glorifying the Scarsdales replaces the original Roman tribute: "AD MDCCLXV N. BARO.DE SCARSDALE AMICIS ET SIBI."[111] Adam's use of a monumental arch in a definitively rural setting evokes the romantic images of Piranesi and Claude Lorraine. The Salon dome rises above the Arch, reminiscent of the implied sphere of Hadrian's Pantheon and the Temple of Jupiter at Spalatro (Split). The curving lines are subtly echoed by the twin stairs that descend from the *piano nobile* to the gardens below. The rustication of the ground level is a survival from the earlier Paine designs. Adam found further inspiration for his

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[108] Sanderson, 58.
[109] David King, *The Complete Works of Robert and James Adam and Unbuilt Adam* (Oxford: Architectural Press, 2001) 185.
[110] King, 185.
[111] Nicholas Antram and Gervais Jackson-Stops, *Kedleston Hall* (London: National Trust, 1993) 11.

Kedleston designs in the rectangular vault and single portico of the "Temple of Aesculapius" at Split.

Kedleston's principal reception rooms occupy most of the central block of the house. Curving passages extend from this block and link two pavilions to the North Front. The original Paine/Adam design included two additional pavilions that would have extended from the South Front, but budgetary constraints prevented their construction. Kedleston's true glory is revealed in Adam's Great Hall (Figure 3-4). The soaring, majestic space is reminiscent of a Roman atrium – but on an aggrandized scale (67 feet by 42 feet). A series of three oval skylights illuminate a floor inlaid with stylized acanthus motifs, and flanked by rows of solid alabaster columns. Robert Adam joined a rotunda space, the Salon, to the Great Hall; the gilded rosettes and coffers in the domed ceiling are reminiscent of the Temple of Jupiter and the Pantheon.

A visitor to Kedleston, Richard Sullivan, was properly appreciative of Lord Scarsdale's residence:

> You get into a most superb hall, the sides and ceiling of which are the most beautifully ornamented, and the whole supported by four and twenty massive pillars of variegated alabaster finely fluted. Here, indeed the senses become astonished….In one word, the whole strikes you as if it were designed for a more than mortal residence… Altogether this house is really magnificent: the hand of taste is evident in every part

> of it (nor can it be otherwise, when known to be the work of Messieurs Adam).[112]

Kedleston Hall was designed to engage, even overwhelm the senses. Vast spaces, echoing vaults, and contrasting surface textures follow a viewer from room to room. "Contemporary visitors to Kedleston, while invariably struck by its splendor, were somewhat concerned by the extravagance displayed."[113] Kedelston made a clear statement: Curzon was wealthy, cultured, and had the means and desire to become a leader in polite society. However, Kedleston's grandeur was designed to be accessible, even understood, by anyone; Curzon even produced a catalog for the house, suggesting perhaps that he did not "…expect every visitor to arrive in the know."[114]

There is no doubt that Kedleston was a collaborative effort. Four architects contributed to its design, and Lord Curzon had a say as well. The true genius of the Adam Style was synthesis: the ability to take disparate elements and fuse them into a cohesive whole. This skill would prove a great benefit for Adam's architectural practice, especially when clients wished to renovate an existing older structure – such as Syon House, and Osterley Park.

Syon House

Robert Adam's next major commission would prove to be one of the most prestigious (and celebrated) of his architectural practice: Syon House, in Richmond.

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[112] Richard Sullivan, *Observations Made During a Tour Through Parts of England, Scotland and Wales* (1780), Adrian Tinniswood, *The Polite Tourist: Four Centuries of Country House Visiting* (London: Harry N. Abrams, 1998) 106-108.
[113] Eileen Harris, *The Genius of Robert Adam* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007) 39.
[114] De Bolla, 191.

> In the year 1762, the Duke of Northumberland came to the resolution of fitting up the apartments of Sion House, in a magnificent manner. He communicated his intentions to me, and having expressed his desire, that the whole might be entirely in the antique style, he was pleased, in terms very flattering, to signify his confidence in my abilities to follow out his idea. Upon this plan, the alterations and inside decorations of Sion House were begun, and as the idea was to me a favourite one, the subject great, the expense unlimited, and the Duke himself a person of extensive knowledge and correct taste in architecture, I endeavoured to render it a notable and elegant habitation, not unworthy of a proprietor, who possessed not only wealth to execute a great design, but skill to judge of its merit.[115]

Adam planned a series of rooms surrounding a monumental rotunda in the rectangular courtyard (Figure 3-5), but was forced to omit the rotunda due to a lack of funds.[116] The Entry Hall (Figures 3-6 and 3-7) is a startling contrast to Syon's castellated exterior; stark whites, greys, and blacks give a cool, detached impression to the room. Doric columns flank the windows and doors, and muted trophy panels cover the wall below the windows (Figure 3-8)[117]. The ceiling is heavily coffered, though monotone; its geometric lines are echoed by the black and white floor, and contrast with curving apses at either end of the room. In Stillman's opinion, the Entry Hall "…demonstrates

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[115] Adams, *Works,* Vol. I, 7.
[116] Barry Bergdoll, *European Architecture, 1750-1890* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) 37.
[117] Figures 4-5, 4-6, and 4-7 (images of the Entry Hall at Syon House) were engraved by Giovanni Battista Piranesi; in actuality, the Apollo Belvedere stands where the Laocoön is placed in Piranesi's engraving.

[Adam's] consummate skill at spatial manipulation in its end elevations of column screen answering coffered apse…"[118] Robert Adam designed the statue bases[119] and commissioned a bronze reproduction of *The Dying Gaul*. The oratory poses of two of the statues convey a sense of authority, while the naked Gaul expires in a pose of total subjugation – two images of Roman Imperial strength. In all, the strong geometry and monochromatic color scheme give the Hall a stark, almost skeletal feel: this space evokes the dry, dead bones of antiquity. It as if all the life and vigor of Imperial Rome has been drained away, even as the bronze Gaul lies dying. The placement of this statue is deliberately symbolic; the Gaul is flanked by two sets of stairs that ascend to the next room, and a visitor literally rises above the death of antiquity to reach the Ante Room.

The Ante-Room, attached to the Great Hall, is defined by color and a sense of movement. Twelve *scagliola* columns topped with gilded Ionic capitals support classical figures in heroic poses. James Adam brought the columns back from Rome, believing that they were newly dredged from the Tiber. A WWII air raid, however, damaged one of the columns and revealed a *scagliola* veneer, casting doubt on the provenance of some (or all) of the columns.[120] The room is not perfectly square, a flaw disguised by the rows of columns screening the walls (see Figure 3-4, Plan of Syon House). Gilded military trophies inspired by Piranesi's engravings echo the metallic sheen of the ceiling and

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[118] Damie Stillman, *English Neo-Classical Architecture,* Vol. I (London: A. Zwemmer, Ltd., 1988) 127.
[119] King, 234.
[120] King, 234. The Rykwerts offer a different view of the column origins; namely, some had been purchased in Rome by James Adam "…shortly after they had been dredged from the Tiber, while the others were imitated in *scagliola*." (Joseph and Anne Rykwert, *The Brothers Adam: The Men and the Style* [New York: Rizzoli, 1985] 79).

capitals (Figure 3-9).[121] Candlelight would reflect from every surface – the mosaic floor, the gilded ceiling, the polished columns. A gilded table topped with a mosaic taken from the Baths of Titus in Rome (designed by Robert Adam) gives an "archaeological" authenticity to the room (as do the columns – presuming their ancient origins). The might of Imperial Rome was thus reborn from the dead past, reconstituted into a glorious display of ancient style and modern wealth and power.

The Ante-Room opens onto the Dining Room, a space with muted ivory walls and delicately elaborate gilding. Two apses at either end of the room are screened by Corinthian columns; smaller versions of these columns are repeated in a pedimented chimneypiece. Robert Adam knew that dinners in this room would be accompanied by copious amounts of wine, followed, after the ladies had retired, by decanters of port:

> Accustomed by habit, or induced by the nature of our climate, we indulge more largely in the enjoyment of the bottle. Every person of rank here is either a member of the legislation, or entitled by his condition to take part in the political arrangements of his country, and to enter with ardour into those discussions to which they give rise; these circumstances lead men to live more with one another, and more detached from the society of the ladies. The eating rooms are considered as the apartments of conversation, in which we are to pass a great part of our time. This renders it desirable to have them fitted up with elegance and splendor, but in a style different from that of other apartments. Instead of being hung with damask, tapestry, &c, they are always finished with stucco, and

[121] Bergdoll, 38.

adorned with statues and paintings, that they may not retain the smell of the victuals.[122]

The Dining Room leads in turn to the Red Drawing Room – another contrasting space drenched with color and movement. This drawing room "…is very much part of the original plan, in which the room to which the ladies withdrew after dinner … was insulated from the male rioters in the dining room."[123] The coved ceiling in this room is coffered with red and blue medallions, probably inspired by a coffered apse in the Villa Madama in Rome.[124] The walls were covered with a scarlet silk fabric (since replaced) that complemented the Adam-designed rug. The Red Drawing Room's ceilings are unusually bold in color; the even more elaborate ceiling patterns of the next room in succession, the Long Gallery, seem muted in comparison (Figure 3-10). Pilasters and alcoves alternate with bookshelves along the length of the 136 foot room; the opposite window wall extends the entire width of the house. Robert Adam decorated the dado panels below the bookcases with a Roman funerary motif (Figure 3-11); sinuous lines curve around central medallions. This arrangement, often found on Roman sarcophagi, was echoed furniture pieces and other decorative elements at Syon (Figure 3-12).

Through the use of imperial imagery, and contrasting textures and colors, Robert Adam successfully mingled family history with national, archaeological, and architectural history at Syon House.[125] Every social need of the Duke and Duchess of Northumberland was taken into consideration and accommodated, and the Duke could

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[122] Adams, *Works*, Vol. I, 9.
[123] Rykwerts, p. 80. In practice, the ladies at Syon would withdraw to the Long Gallery, even further away from the riotous male company in the Dining Room.
[124] King, 234.
[125] Bergdoll, 40.

entertain guests in a truly palatial setting that proclaimed his family's wealth and status. All three volumes of the *The Works in Architecture* contain descriptions of Syon; "…it is apparent that the brothers were immensely proud of Syon and considered it to be the finest advertisement of their firm."[126]

Osterley Park

Osterley Park also evokes a sense of history – as Adam redesigned an essentially Jacobean house into an epitome of neoclassical style (Figure 3-13). In 1761, Francis Childe hired Adam to rework some of William Chambers' earlier remodeling efforts.[127] These plans were "…something the nature of a conventional eighteenth-century house, a deep *corps-de-logis,* with a central portico; in front a courtyard was to be created by the two projecting wings, shortened from the sides of the original square"[128]After the death of Francis Childe in 1763, Robert Childe (Francis' brother and heir), continued the renovations at Osterley, but along entirely new lines.[129] Robert Adam opened a gap in the east side of the courtyard, and bridged the space with a five-bay Ionic portico (Figure 3-14). The "transparent" portico was open on both sides and approached by a monumental flight of steps; this arrangement was derived from the Portico of Octavia in Rome.[130] Adam redecorated most of the major rooms in the house, including the courtyard entrance hall (Figure 3-15). White plaster trophy panels (similar to the gilded Syon versions) flank the outside door, and the inlaid floor echoes the ceiling molding. A

[126] James Lees-Milne, *The Age of Adam* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1947) 109.
[127] King, 234.
[128] Rykwerts, 122.
[129] Rykwerts, 122.
[130] John Summerson, *Architecture in Britain 1530-1830* (London: Penguin Books, 1989) 435.

mosaic table similar to the Syon example adds color and reflection to the Dining Room (Figure 3-16), which is decorated with painted panels by Antonio Zucchi (of appropriately classical scenes) and grotesque wall panels (Figures 3-17 and 3-18). Adam designed all the furniture in this room,[131] including two urns that could hold and dispense liquid from spigots in their pedestals. Like the Gallery panels at Syon, the urns are decorated with Roman funerary S-curves.

One of the most distinctive rooms in Osterley Park, the State Dressing Room, contains some of the best-preserved examples of Adam's Etruscan style. The "Etruscan Style" was also inspired by Greek red and black figured vases, thought at that time to be Etruscan.

> Long before their acquaintance with the Greeks, the Romans had derived from Etruria such information as enabled them to make a very considerable progress in many branches of architecture. This accounts for the great and masterly style in which they planned and constructed their public works from the most early period.[132]

While Robert Adam never saw Pompeii himself, his brother James did visit the excavations; James commented on walls painted with arabesques (perhaps similar to those in the House of the Vettii), and "pretty" mosaic floors.[133] The architectural motifs used in the Dressing Room are similar to Pompeian Third Style fresco painting, which roughly corresponds to the date of the frescoes in the Domus Aurea – which Robert

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[131] King, 196.
[132] Robert and James Adam, *The Works in Architecture of Robert and James Adam*, Vol. II, p. 1 (London: 1778, Reprinted by E. Thezard Fils, 1900) April 22, 2013 <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/DLDecArts.RobertAdamV2>.
[133] Olive Cook, *The English Country House* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1974) 184.

Adam did visit. A painted door (Figure 3-19) opens to a light blue and terracotta room, painted by Antonio Zucchi;[134] classical medallions are supported by a framework of attenuated columns (Figures 3-20 and 3-21) . The wall motifs are echoed in the molded and painted ceiling (Figures 3-22 and 3-23). This color scheme is typical of the Adams' Etruscan furniture and interior designs.[135]

Robert Adam's efforts at Osterley Park even impressed the highly critical Horace Walpole (if only unwillingly):

> On Friday we went to see – oh, the palace of palaces! – and yet a palace sans crown, sans coronet, but such expense! Such taste! Such profusion!… The old house I have often seen, but it is so improved and enriched, that all the Percies and Seymours of Sion must die of envy. There is a double portico that fills the space between the towers of the front, and is as noble as the Propyleum of Athens. There is a hall, library, breakfast-room, eating-room, all chefs d'oeuvre of Adam, a gallery one hundred and thirty feet long, and drawing-room worthy of Eve before the fall.[136]

Despite disapproval of nouveau-riche ostentation,[137] and the social pretensions of the "uncoroneted" Childes, even Walpole could not ignore the antique grandeur of Osterley Hall. As with every Adam house, Osterley promoted an image of imperial

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[134] Harris, *Country Houses*, 76.
[135] Eileen Harris, *The Furniture of Robert Adam* (London: Alec Tiranti, 1963) 22.
[136] Horace Walpole, Letter, 1773, Adrian Tinniswood, *The Polite Tourist: Four Centuries of Country House Visiting* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1999) 104.
[137] Jules Lubbock, *The Tyranny of Taste: The Politics of Architecture and Design in Britain 1550-1960* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995) 8.

strength, and aggrandized the wealth and power of the family that commissioned his designs.

Conclusions

Robert Adam's "revolution" extended beyond the structures he built. It was "…necessary to educate in effect an entire culture, not only the culture of wealthy land-owning Britain, but also the technical support that would imaginatively present this new taste and realize it."[138] Plasterers, iron workers, painters, draftsmen, all had to learn the language of ancient architecture, as did Adam's clients. Residents of these neoclassical palaces, and their guests, experienced antiquity in a physical way: ruins seen in travel books and prints, or on the Grand Tour, miraculously reconstituted into monumental temples to the wealth and power England's elite.

Neoclassical architecture sought to invoke the spirit of Greece and Rome: expressed in the form of gilded Roman trophy panels, soaring vaults, and triumphal arches. Robert Adam understood how to use imagery and acoustics to create an atmosphere of ancient grandeur; Rasmussen's modern description of the impact of Thorvaldsen's Museum in Copenhagen could have been written about the Great Hall at Kedleston:

> The floors are stone, the walls of stone, even the residents are stone. All of these hard, sound-reflecting surfaces give the rooms their hard, long-reverberating tones. When you enter this home of the statues you are in a world

[138] De Bolla, 159.

that is very different from the rather provincial little capital…. It is more like Rome, great and dignified as the vaulted ruins of Antiquity….[139]

Robert Adam was fascinated by "movement" in architecture – not only in the way shadows formed on a building's façade, but also how rooms flowed together in a building's interior. He did not create exact replicas of ancient structures, and this has led to much confusion in interpreting the "Adam Style." Pevsner refers to Adam's "classical Rococo,"[140] and states that "…Robert Adam enjoyed drawing ruins with all the Rococo sparkle of Piranesi.[141] Worsley has attempted to reason the "Adam Style" out of existence, concluding in the *Classical Architecture in Britain* that Adam's work was completely derivative, lacked genius and innovation, and occasionally displayed inexperience. Would the South Front of Kedleston "…be hailed as a masterpiece if it weren't by Adam? …It could be argued that Adam's scheme was a rather forced attempt at novelty by an inexperienced architect."[142] Robert Adam's willingness to rearrange and manipulate ancient structures and motifs has been called both "derivative" and "original genius." At the most basic level, an Adam design evoked the grandeur of antiquity: and Robert Adam felt justified in using every architectural source available to him to capture that magnificence. By 1773, Robert and James Adam could justly claim: "That, we flatter ourselves, we have been able to seize, with some degree of success, the beautiful spirit of antiquity, and translate it, with novelty and variety, through our numerous works."[143]

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[139] Steen Eiler Rasmussen, *Experiencing Architecture* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1959), 226.
[140] Nikolaus Pevsner, *An Outline of European Architecture,* 7th Edition (New York: Penguin Books, 1963) 358.
[141] Pevsner, 358.
[142] Worsley, 256.
[143] Adams, *Works,* Vol. I, 4.

Neoclassical structures offered an experience of antiquity that was physical; the desire for a tangible recreation of the past could even reconfigure the landscape. Wealthy landowners rebuilt the temples and grottos of Greece and Rome in the English countryside, and none with greater effect than Henry Hoare at Stourhead - as we will see in the next chapter, "The Embodiment of Myth."

Chapter Four

The Embodiment of Myth: Experiencing Stourhead Landscape Garden

A white shape forms against the darkness of massed trees, a distant shimmer gradually resolves into a sheet of water, reflecting the temple at its shore, columns supporting a perfect dome. The path gradually descends, until a vista of water, temples, and islands is revealed. The progression to, and around, the lake is a deliberate compilation of experiences − elevation and sublimation; structure and wilderness; water and land. Stourhead Garden is an expression of the English neoclassical ideal: Greece and Rome reborn in their purest, most perfect forms, transforming the English countryside into a living mythological landscape.

Visitors to Stourhead in the 1770s saw a masterpiece of British landscape gardening that was the culmination of centuries of development and experimentation. "Grottos", a term derived from the "grotesque" aesthetic of the sixteenth century, were inspired by the first excavations of the Domus Aurea in Rome, and revived in the eighteenth century by the discovery of Herculaneum and Pompeii. Stourhead, arguably the most successful example of an idealized, mythological landscape, was inspired by archaeology, literature, painting, and social influence. From stylistic standpoint, Stourhead is a "closed circuit" garden, with a series of views reminiscent of a landscape painting, and a lake that reflects a "Claudian" scene.[144] Stourhead is "like a poem;"[145] is

[144] Christopher Hussey, *English Gardens and Landscapes, 1700-1750* (London: Country Life, 1967) 158-159.

a "sacred landscape"[146] evoking Troy, Delos, and Lake Avernus.[147] The gardens would prove to be a source of inspiration for visitors for nearly three centuries, and prompt a scholarly debate that has continued for over forty years. However, all of this began with a grotto.

The Influence of the Grotto: Pope, Hoare, and the Hidden Depths of Stourhead

> Cypress and ivy, weed and wallflower grown
> Matted and mass'd together, hillocks heap'd
> On what were chambers, arch crush'd, column strown
> In Fragments, choked up vaults, and frescos steep'd
> In subterranean damps where the owl peep'd
> Deeming it midnight: - Temples, baths or halls?
> Pronounce who can; for all that Learning reap'd
> From her research hath been, that these are walls –
> Behold the Imperial Mount! 't is thus the mighty falls.[148]

Byron's imagery of "subterranean damps" reflects a fascination for hidden springs and buried places that was as powerful in the eighteenth century as it was in antiquity. Thus, it is not surprising that Henry Hoare II's first building project by the newly created artificial lake at Stourhead was a grotto. "The grotto is a commonplace, ubiquitous in antiquity and prevalent in classical sources…Because the grotto may be viewed in a myriad of contexts – sacred and profane, idyllic and bucolic, mythological and oracular,

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[145] Stephanie Ross, *What Gardens Mean* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998) 63.
[146] Malcom Kelsall, "The Iconography of Stourhead," *Journal of the Warburg and Cortauld Institutes* 46 (1983) 134. April 1, 2013 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/751117>.
[147] Kenneth Woodbridge, *Landscape and Antiquty: Aspects of English Culture at Stourhead 1718-1838* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970) 35.
[148] George Gordon, Lord Byron, *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, Canto the Fourth, CVII, In: *The Great Romantics* (New York: Quality Paperback Club, 1993) 71.

theatrical and ornamental – it constitutes an elusive art form."[149] The popularity of grottos in the eighteenth century was not only the result of familiarity with classical authors: Grand Tourists who visited Herculaneum and Pompeii saw ancient structures that were ruined, buried, and excavated. Thus, the "archaeological grotto" in England reflects both a revival of a classical theme, and the experience of viewing ancient sites *in situ*.

The most influential early eighteenth century English grotto was built by Alexander Pope, a contemporary of Lord Burlington and William Kent, in his grounds at Twickenham. Pope's subterranean vision influenced Henry Hoare II[150] (as Hoare's later use of Pope's verse in the Stourhead grotto demonstrates). Pope's grotto linked the River Thames to his garden complex; rustic walls and passages were covered with geologic specimens, while the poorly lit chambers were enhanced with *camera obscura* effects. After finishing the first stage in 1725, Pope wrote: "I have put the last hand to my works of this kind, in happily finishing the subterraneous way and grotto. I there found a spring of the clearest water, which falls in a perpetual rill, that echoes through the cavern day and night… It wants nothing but a good statue with an Inscription."[151] Pope's subterranean creation inspired his contemporaries to build their own grottos; Oatlands Park and Goldney contained noteworthy examples[152]. However, once the Grotto of the Nymph and the Cave of the River God were opened to visitors, Stourhead became a preeminent destination for tourists longing for a "classical" experience.

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[149] Naomi Miller, *Heavenly Caves: Reflections on the Garden Grotto* (New York: George Braziller) 7.
[150] Mavis Batey, *Alexander Pope: the Poet and the Landscape* (London: Barn Elm Publishers, 1999) 56.
[151] Batey, 55.
[152] Miller, *Caves*, 89-91.

Henry Hoare II was a wealthy banker with the taste and means to create his own version of paradise. His father, Henry Hoare I, purchased Stourhead in 1718,[153] but the extensive landscaping that produced the Stourhead lake garden did not begin until the 1740s. The garden was constructed in two principal building phases – 1740-1755 and 1765-1770. Construction of the main grotto began in 1740, and included the Grotto of the Nymph and the Cave of the River God (Figures 4-1 and 4-2). Henry Hoare II commissioned Henry Flitcroft to construct three buildings on the Stourhead estate: the Temple of Flora (Ceres) in 1744 (Figure 4-3[154]) the Temple of Hercules, or Pantheon, in 1754, and the Temple of Apollo (inspired by Wood's "Temple of Balbec") in 1765. Hoare's choice of Flitcroft as Stourhead's architect was most likely owed to a recommendation from Lord Burlington (whose influence secured Flitcroft several private commissions and even public appointments).[155]

In addition to his role as creator and designer of Stourhead, Henry Hoare II became a noted collector of Italian art. His acquisitions would later interest connoisseurs such as Horace Walpole. Hoare's fascination with classical imagery is further evidenced in Hoare's garden design, as Stourhead recreates, in part, Claude's "Coast View of Delos with Aeneas" (Figure 4-5). The Claudian aspects of Sourhead are further discussed in later sections of this chapter.

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[153] Woodbridge, *Landscape,* 16-17.
[154] This image shows the first incarnation of the Temple of Flora; the Temple stood above a formal grotto and pond. These structures were subsumed by the rising lake water, and only traces of the structures now remain.
[155] Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects, 1600-1840*, 3rd Edition (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), Flitcroft, Henry (366).

After the death of his only son in 1751, Hoare concentrated on securing his family dynasty through his two daughters.[156] Upon Hoare's death in 1781, Stourhead was willed to his grandson, Sir Richard Colt Hoare. The inheritance was contingent upon "Colt" severing all ties with the administration of Hoare's Bank, and living at Stourhead as a gentleman of leisure.[157]

Colt accepted the bequest, but first chose to travel before settling at Stourhead. He visited Rome and Naples in Italy; also Germany, Switzerland, Spain, and Malta. Upon his return to England in 1791, he began to make improvements at Stourhead and expand upon his grandfather's art collection and library. Colt joined the Dilettani and the Society of Antiquaries;[158] his active role in the Society is demonstrated by the dedication made to him by William Coxe, a friend and fellow Antiquary, in his *Tour of Monmouthshire* volume: "An Historical Tour in Monmouthshire, commenced in your company, written at your suggestion, and embellished by your pencil, is inscribed to you…"[159] Colt Hoare retained his interest in art and antiquity until his death in 1838.[160]

Henry Hoare II and Colt Hoare and his grandfather Henry felt the need to share their appreciation for classical culture and antiquity with a wider audience, and created a masterpiece of landscape design that has attracted visitors for over 250 years (Figure 4-4). What was the appeal of Stourhead in the eighteenth century, and how has interest in

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[156] Woodbridge, *Landscape*, 39.
[157] C. G. A. Clay, "Henry Hoare, Banker, his Family, and the Stourhead Estate, *Landowners, Capitalists, and Entrepreneurs, Essays for Sir John Habakkuk*, F.M.L. Thompson, ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994) 133-134.
[158] Woodbridge, *Landscape*, 154.
[159] William Coxe. *A Historical Tour through Monmouthshire*, Illustrated with Views by Sir Richard Hoare, 2nd Edition (Brecon: Davies & Co, 1904) xxxi.
[160] Woodbridge, *Landscape*, 266-267.

the garden changed over time? Contemporary visitor accounts give some sense of how the garden was viewed in the past, while a body of modern scholarly analyses illustrate the current interest in Stourhead. The following sections will demonstrate how these approaches differ – but also, that they share surprising similarities.

The Stourhead Experience in the Eighteenth Century

> Prepare the mind for something grand and new;
> For Paradise soon opens to the view!...
> The wond'ring rustics, who this place explore,
> Feel sentiments their souls ne'er felt before
> And Virtuosi with amazement own
> They never thought such wonders were in stone![161]

As this "Poetical Essay" (written in June, 1749) demonstrates, Stourhead held a strong appeal for those who had the inclination (and money) to travel; a classical education was not a necessity, as even the souls of "rustic" country squires would be moved by the garden's splendors. The essay also contains a lyric description of the grotto:

> There in yon grotto, far removed from light,
> The Niads dwell, invisible to sight,

[161] Anonymous, "Stourton Gardens," *London Royal Magazine* (1764) 47. April 7, 2013 <http://www.newspaperarchive.com/london-royal-magazine/1764-02-01/page47>.

For yon silver god they sigh, they burn,

And pour their tears incessant thro' his urn; but

Cold as lead, and deaf when they complain, supine he lies,

And they but weep in vain.[162]

The London Chronicle of 1757 published an account of a "Journey Through Wiltshire," that describes Stourhead as a tourist destination that would also appeal to female visitors:

> Upon the…Brow of the Hill…there are several irregular Walks of different Breadths leading into the Valley. These are covered by stately Trees, and receive the most heightened Charms by a large Piece of Water at the Bottom, on which there is a very pretty boat. You will remember it the longer by the female Rower, whose Vivacity induced her to try her Skill: It was not one of the least pleasing Adventures of the Day. We made a coasting Voyage on the little enchanting Ocean, where we discovered several little islands, which are either planted or covered with Rocks, uninhabited except by the feathered Kind.
>
> …After passing the Bridge, the Ground is steep and lofty, and covered with Wood: A narrow Path at the Bottom of it leads to the Grotto of the Nymph, which is formed in rude Rock-work, almost level with the Water. Here is a Marble Bason of pure Water, which is made use of as a cold Bath. In the interior Part of the Niche over the Bason, is a marble Statue of a sleeping Nymph, to whom this Grotto is dedicated: She is covered with a light Garment, which hardly conceals her Limbs. At the Foot of this Bath is a marble Slab with these Lines

[162] *London Royal Magazine*, 47.

from our celebrated Mr. Pope, which are admirably adapted to this pleasant gloomy scene:

> Nymph of the Grot, these sacred Springs I keep,
> And to the Murmur of these Waters sleep:
> Stop, gentle Reader, lightly tread the Cave,
> Or drink in Silence, or in Silence lave.

From the Grotto of the Nymph, we proceed to that adjoining, which is sacred to the River-God Stour, and to him inscribed by some Latin Verses. Here he sits in gloomy, awful Majesty, in a very natural Attitude, with one of his Legs in a Bason of pure Water; this Grotto is form'd in Rock-work, and arched with the same Materials, at the Foot of a steep Hill covered with Trees, which look venerably ancient. The Statue is of Lead.

As one advances, upon a more open and rising Ground, under the Hill, is the Temple dedicated to Hercules. This, is a Rotunda, or Pantheon, calculated to receive in the Center a Pedestal of about three Feet high; and the Figure of this heathen Deity is about eight. It is a beautiful Piece of marble Work, and weighs about eight Tons: The ingenious Mr. Rysbrack, after ten Years Labor, has at length finished it.

Perhaps I should first have mentioned the Temple of Ceres, which is on the Side of the Water nearest the Village. This Building has a Portico supported by Columns. Here is the Figure of the Goddess, with her proper Emblems, standing in the Front as you open the Door. On each Side are two commodious

> Seats, which are made in Imitation of the Pulvinaria, or little Beds which were placed near the Altar at the Time of Sacrifice, on which the Pagans were wont to lay the Images of their Gods in their Temples. Eight or ten Feet below, level with the Water, in a subterraneous Grotto, is another Figure of the River God.[163]

Horace Walpole visited Stourhead in 1762. A prominent Antiquary, author, and politician, he was himself "tormented" by "plagues" of visitors who came to see his own neo-Gothic fantasy, Strawberry Hill.[164] Nevertheless, Walpole felt obligated to tour the houses of his contemporaries, and record his experiences:

> …You pass over a wooden Palladian bridge with urns, & wind to a Grotto, charmingly designed; & composed of two arched chambers; in a recess of the first is a copy of the sleeping Cleopatra,[165] but without the Asp, to represent a Nymph, & under her Pope's translation of 'Hujus Nympha loci &c'. Thence you pass into another vaulted room, at the end of which under an Arch is a figure, like Neptune, stepping out of a Fount, illuminated from above, to represent the God of the Stour, which actually tumbles out of his urn; under him are lines of Virgil – I would put these lines,
>
> 'This Stream, like Time, still hastens from my Urn,
>
> Forever rolling, never to return.'

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[163] Anonymous, *London Chronicle*, "Travels Through Wiltshire," Jun. 16-18 (1757) 578.
[164] Tinniswood, 91.
[165] Walpole's "Cleopatra" identification for the Sleeping Nymph may reflect Henry Hoare's apparent fascination with the queen in 1762 (as the recently acquired *Octavius and Cleopatra* [Mengs] then occupied pride of place in the Stourhead Hall entryway). Woodbridge, *Landscape*, 47-50.

> Leaving the grotto, which is lost in the wood, you mount to the temple of Hercules; a large Stone building taken from the Pantheon, except that each end of the Portico is stopped up, & I think not judiciously, with a square tower, with niches and statues. …The Temple was designed by Flitcroft, but has been altered. Round are four benches in beautifull Classic style, invented by Mr. Hoare of Bath, & painted with the history of Cupid & Psyche. Behind the Hercules, is a large grate of brass to admit heat from a stove, and looking like a grate for Nuns in a catholic chapel. In Short, few buildings exceed the magnificence, taste and beauty of this temple.[166]

Joseph Spence (1699-1768) was moved to describe his impressions of the grotto in a letter to the Duke of Newcastle in 1765:

> You go to the Grotto first thro' a dark walk, where you often catch little pieces of the water thro' the bottoms of the trees… a low laurel − arching over the path, which hides all the Front of the Grot… When under the laurel-arch, you first discover the entrance of the Grot… and thence go through a close archt passage of 14 f into the Principal circular Room, of 20 f Diameter. Here there is an Opening… which gives a View to the Lake on the left hand; & and the Nymph sleeping over a little Cascade is on your right; the light falls in often very pleasingly upon her from an unseen side window above. There is also an opening… in the center of the Dome or roof;…You go out of this room thro' a second archt passage as the former, into An open of 12 f long, before Stour's

[166] Horace Walpole, *Journals of Visits to Country Seats* (London: Garland Publishing, 1982) 43.

Cave; where he sits retired within, with his Urn always running with a very pure water.[167]

The Journal of Sir John Parnell[168] reveals the author's impressions of the garden, and his attempts to preserve its imagery. He related his theories on garden design, as well as his concerns over the proper display of classical elements within the context of "natural beauty":

> I confess I never beheld such a goodnatured improvement so beautifully ornamenting the country and feasting the travelers eye…. In full view on the other side of the lake stands, as in an island, the most elegant expensive building I ever saw in an improvement, not even the best at Kew excepted. It is perfectly Attic – a miniature of the Pantheon with I think an improvement in the portico.
>
> The temple is something on this plan as nearly as I could carry it in my head, the inside lighted solely with a light at top as the Pantheon is; a noble circular room furnished with some antique statues of the largest human size, and some copies in marble from some of the best antiques at Rome.
>
> It may be objected that in England an appearance of nature is broke in on as much by introducing the Attic Temple and another taken from the Ruins of Baalbec[169] in an English scene. But this I denie, there being nothing unnatural in the appearance of any building, tho' never so unusual…. We may at any time conceive a mans building an habitation, or at least a pavilion or banquetting

[167] Joseph Spence, "Letter to the Duke of Newcastle," 1765, John Dixon Hunt, *The Genius of the Place: The English Landscape Garden, 1620-1820* (New York: Harper and Row, 1975) 272-73.
[168] Kenneth Woodbridge, "Stourhead in 1768,' *Journal of Garden History* 2:1 (1982) 59-70.
[169] i.e., the Temple of Apollo. The plate from *The Ruins of Balbec* that inspired the Temple is shown in Chapter 2, Figure 2-17.

house, in any style of architecture; but the introduction of a heathen deity can never be without violating all pretensions to a natural scene. I would therefore never blend them in this manner could I effect it, but give them some recess, some little amphitheatre where they should make the principle object, and consequently how much they might ornament that particular scene, I should be certain they marred no natural beauty. Here then I must confess Mr Hoare has shown as much propriety in embellishing a grotto, where natural objects were not blended, nor required as being the inside of a room, as could, from the system I observe above, be wishd. It lies in the spot from whence the spring proceeds which is supposed to give rise to the River Stoure. A great River God lies in a rude recess, reclined on his urn, from whence issues the stream; the motto 'undis jura dabat &c &c'. It does not begin here, but near those words in another recess into which this water runs is a cold bath; beyond it, or rather on a bank of fossils, shells, &c rising out of it, lies a lovely figure of a nymph asleep, done finely considering it is in lead; the motto on a piece of white marble; 'Nymph of the Grott &c.' …Pursuing your course…you come to the banks of the lake at the foot of the geometrical bridge, and passing over it enter the thick wood on the knowle at the opposite side of the lake. Here the path becomes shady & winding sweetly by the lakeside amidst thick wood & artificial rocks thro' a wild arch of which it passes. You arrive at last in a cavern or grotto…. In this lies the River God and Nymph I mentioned before. From hence you ascend up little winding steps, and pursue your walk thro' beech trees till…you come to the front of the lovely Grecian Temple…[170]

[170] Woodbridge, "Stourhead in 1768," 63-64.

In a letter to her sister in law, Frances Burney, Maria Rishton described her visit to "the best worth seeing of any seat I ever beheld:

> The River Store [Stour] rises in one part of the gardens and is so beautifully Contrived as to come gushing out of an Urn on which Neptune is reclining in his grotto – Which is composed of the most beautiful Spas and Fossils. There are several Apartments in this grotto, and Such a Cold Bath – with an Invocation to the Nymph of the place. There is a palladion Bridge over a most beautiful piece of Water- a temple of the Sun situated on a very great imminence and so Contrived that the top which is a Window looks like the rays of phoebus and seems to enlighten the Temple-there is a pantheon filled with very Costly Statues of all the heathen gods and goddesses – on pedestals of Siena Marble – many of them Cost £112 – there is a temple of Flora… there are a hundred others disposed about the gardens which are of such amazing Extent that they are not at all Crowded…[171]

There is one common feature that the contemporary accounts share, namely, inconsistency. No two accounts are identical. Building descriptions and identification varies: the Temple of Hercules is a "perfectly Attic," "miniature Pantheon" with a "stopped-up portico." The grotto is "pleasantly gloomy" home to "weeping niads" and a thinly clad nymph named "Cleopatra".

[171] Maria Rishton, "Letter to Frances Burney," *The Early Diary of Frances Burney, 1768-1777*, Annie Raine Ellis, ed. (London: George Bell and Sons, 1889), 322.

The artificial nature of Stourhead is apparent. Temples and grottos were created from contemporary materials for a contemporary audience; however there is no apparent distinction between artifice and reality. The Temples *are* temples, statues deities "of awful majesty." The physical experience of Stourhead was thus a transcendent one, where undisguised simulation is invested with an aspect of genuine antiquity. This experiential dialogue was accessible to anyone: to unlettered "rustics", to "virtuosi", and even to women (who had little access to a formal classical education). The concept of the "experiential dialogue" will be further explored in a later section of this chapter.

As engaging as the eighteenth century accounts are, their variety and inconsistency would make it difficult to form accurate mental images of the garden; nevertheless, such descriptions continued to draw visitors to Stourhead in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Now, of course, the visual experience of Stourhead is easily shared, and images of the garden have the same appeal today as did the written descriptions of the eighteenth century.

The Stourhead Experience in the Twenty First Century

Stourhead is now recognized as one of the best-preserved eighteenth century English landscape gardens. It still attracts thousands of visitors a year, and is administered by the British National Trust. Plants and trees have been replaced over time, but the essential structure and layout of the garden remain intact (Figure 4-6). The lake circuit begins with the Temple of Flora, the simplicity of Doric columns and triglyph and metope frieze contrasting with the more elaborate Corinthian style of the Pantheon

and Temple of Apollo (Figure 4-7). The path diverges at Flora; a visitor can walk along the lake at shore level, or ascend the steeper path to the upper hills. The elevated paths allow a "Claudian" perspective of the Pantheon (Figure 4-8), and The Temple of Apollo (Figure 4-9). There is a further discussion of the importance of the Claudian association in the "Search for Iconography and Meaning" section of this chapter.

The passage of time has enhanced the simulated antiquity of the temples and grotto; layers of moss and vegetation lend an "archaeological" aspect to the entrance to the Cave of the Nymph (Figures 4-10 and 4-11). Rough grey walls give the effect of an excavated passageway into a "buried" structure (Figures 4-12 and 4-13). A "decaying" arch frames the sleeping Nymph (Figure 4-14), composed of cast white lead, while layers of masonry band the domed chamber. The grotto does not simulate a natural cave; the underlying architecture of a ribbed dome and oculus is apparent (Figure 4-15). The oculus allows a narrow shaft of light to shine on the rim of the Nymph's pool. A near-lake-level window (Figure 4-16) displays a view of the Temple of Apollo (Figure 4-17). The Grotto floor is composed of concentric pebble rings, reminiscent of stylized Roman mosaics (Figure 4-18).

Another passage leads to the cave of the River God (Stour in the eighteenth Century, Tiber in the current Virgilian interpretation), where a dim figure is highlighted by a sunlit arch surrounded by the relative darkness of passage and cave (4-19). The River God's relationship to the water surrounding him is deliberately ambiguous: he has either just emerged from the water, or is about to descend into it (4-20). The God's upraised arm indicates the exit via a winding stone stairway. After passing a rustic

cottage, the lakeside path leads to The Temple of Hercules, or Pantheon (Figures 4-21 and 4-22). The Corinthian pediment is still flanked by the niched "towers" that offended Walpole.

The next structure on the lake circuit is the Temple of Apollo. An artificial ruin (Figure 4-23) serves as the entrance to the Temple hill path, marked by a rustic arch (Figure 4-24). The ascent is steep, but the elevation of the Temple (4-25) offers a panoramic perspective of the lake and garden (Figures 4-26 and 4-27) from the colonnade. After descending to the lake side, the garden path continues past the "Palladian" Bridge (no longer accessible to visitors); to the Bristol High Cross (purchased by Henry Hoare II); and ends at Stourhead Hall.

The Stourhead landscape is still evocative, full of imagery that invites recollection and association. From the depths of the Grotto, to the heights of Apollo, variations in topography and perspective give a physicality to the garden's visual experience of classical antiquity. Vegetation, structures, and water exist in apparent harmony – but the same cannot be said of the scholarly treatment of the garden. Analyses of Stourhead seeking to identify a unified system of meaning and iconography for Hoare's paradise have occupied scholars for over forty years, and the debate is still ongoing.

The Search for Iconography and Meaning in Stourhead

Questions of meaning have dominated Stourhead scholarship since the 60s and 70s. Woodbridge proposed a united iconographical scheme for Stourhead based on Virgil's *Aeneid* in "Henry Hoare's Paradise" in 1965.[172] Malins defined Stourhead as a Claudian landscape with Virgilian elements in 1966.[173] Woodbridge then expanded his article into a book, *Landscape and Antiquity, Aspects of English Culture at Stourhead 1718 to 1838*, published in 1970. This work is now considered a foundation text that has prompted decades of debate, resulting in a number of publications that attempt to defend, amend, or overturn the *Aeneid* iconography.

In the Woodbrige theory, Stourhead is modelled on Claude's "Coast View of Delos with Aeneas" (Figure 4-5); the lake is Avernus, and the River God is Tiber. He asks:

> Is the path around the lake an allegory of Aeneas's journey? The imperceptible descent to the Grotto and the steep climb out of it evoke the sibyl's words, '*Facilis descenus Averno*! 'Light is the descent to Avernus! Night and day the portals of gloomy Dis stand wide: but to recall thy step and issue to the upper air – there is the toil and there is the task!'[174]

[172] Kenneth Woodbridge, "Henry Hoare's Paradise," *Art Bulletin* 47:1 (Mar, 1965) 83-116. April 4, 2013 <http://jstor.org/stable/3048235>.
[173] Edward Malins, *English Landscaping and Literature*, 1660-1840 (London: Oxford University Press, 1966) 53-54.
[174] Woodbridge, *Landscape*, 35.

Woodbridge concludes that "Henry was celebrating the founding of Rome, just as he, like Aeneas, was establishing his family in a place."[175]

Malins accepted the *Aeneid* associations of the Woodbridge model, but suggested that Stourhead also functioned as an exercise in moral symbolism:

> Stourhead's landscaping is more perhaps that just a setting based on Claude's *Coast View of Delos with Aeneas* or his *Sacrifice to Apollo*, and more than a series of compositions from many different *points de vue*. Just a s Book VI of the *Aeneid* is not only a narrative of a journey but a steep moral and philosophical investigation into the meaning of life and death, so the path from the Temple of Ceres to the Temple of Apollo may be an Allegory of the journey through life, with certain definite 'archetypes of the collective consciousness' on the way.[176]

The Claudian-*Aeneid*, allegorical iconography was firmly established by the publication of Woodbridge's *Landscape and Antiquity*, and subsequent analyses of Stourhead are some manner reactionary to this work.[177]

Questions about the validity of the Woodbridge model began to surface a decade later. Turner, though supporting the Woodbridge iconography, nevertheless believed that Woodbridge "…confused the garden's chronological development, misrepresented its allusions, and underestimated its unity."[178] Kelsall levelled a sharper blow with his article "The Iconography of Stourhead" (1983). He was critical of the quality of

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[175] Woodbridge, *Landscape*, 36.
[176] Malins, *Landscaping*, 53-54.
[177] Ronald Paulson's *Emblem and Expression* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1975) also promoted an allegorical perspective, based the conflict between public responsibilities and the desire for a life of quiet contemplation.
[178] James Turner, "The Structure of Henry Hoare's Stourhead," *Art Bulletin* (1979) 68. April 4, 2013 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/885950>.

Stourhead scholarship; since it was "…built by accretion on Woodbridge's foundations," the debate over iconography is merely "…rhetoric spun from the looms of fantasy."[179] Kelsall called for an abandonment of "The programme which modern scholarship has invented…Let us walk around the garden again enlightened by Woodbridge's scholarship but with a more open associationism."[180] Kelsall believed that the garden is "…like a living picture and that the invitation is to walk back in time into idealized antiquity alive here, now, in England."[181]

Dixon Hunt concluded in 2006 that a significant issue for Stourhead scholarship has been the "undefended assumption" that Stourhead was created as a unified, single statement, despite the fact that gardens change over time, without regard for (or even knowledge of) earlier plans.[182] Dixon Hunt proposed a more contextual approach to Stourhead, stressing (after Kelsall) the value of understanding contemporary eighteenth century associations.

Thus, the perception of Stourhead as a unified, three-dimensional allegory has evolved out of scholarly debate; Stourhead has become an "iconographical battlefield" on which scholars have attempted to impose a system of meaning upon the buildings and garden design, without any consideration for the actual experiences of eighteenth century visitors.[183] Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the debate is that inconsistencies in the

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[179] Malcom Kelsall, "The Iconography of Stourhead," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 46 (1983) 135. April 1, 2013 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/751117>.
[180] Kelsall, 137.
[181] Kelsall. 137.
[182] John Dixon Hunt, "Stourhead Revisited and the Pursuit of Meaning in Gardens," *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes* 26:4 (2006) 330.
[183] Oliver Cox, "A Mistaken Iconography? Eighteenth Century Visitor Accounts of Stourhead," *Garden History* 40:2 (2012) 98.

perception of Stourhead are nothing new; as the eighteenth century visitor accounts and descriptions show, there always has been disagreement. If there was no single, unified narrative for the Stourhead landscape, how then was the garden perceived? The answer may lie in the physical experience the garden provides, and how individuals were able to engage in a dialogue of association and meaning that operated independently of iconography and allegory.

Conclusions: Experiential Stourhead

There are two principal transformational aspects of the classical landscape garden and archaeological grotto: physical and mental transformations. At the most basic level, a ruin is an ancient structure or place that has, through temporal decay or cataclysmic destruction, assumed the physical traits of a grotto environment. Mental transformation is an intellectual process that seeks to reconstitute the ruin into its original, intact form, and use this image to evoke a vanished past. As Dixon Hunt writes, "…what attracts one to ruins is their incompleteness, their instant declaration of a loss which we can complete in our imaginations." [184]

This is not a new concept, and one that is, I believe, at the heart of the experiential nature of Stourhead. As William Shenstone wrote in 1764:

> Ruinated structures appear to derive their power of pleasing, for the irregularity of surface, which is VARIETY; and the latitude they afford the imagination, to conceive an enlargement of their dimensions, or to recollect any events or

[184] John Dixon Hunt, *Gardens and the Picturesque: Studies in the History of Landscape Architecture* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1992) 179.

circumstances appertaining to their pristine grandeur, so far as concerns grandeur and solemnity.[185]

As we saw in Chapter One, the value of reflection and association was well known in the eighteenth century, and the garden at Stourhead was designed to facilitate such mental exercises.

An interesting analysis by Harwood (2002) compared Stourhead to Disneyland, as eighteenth century landscape gardens offered aspects of entertainment, theatricality, and engagement that were similar to a modern theme park. Eighteenth century estate gardens were created for public consumption, essentially "…cultural capital deployed in an elaborately nuanced game of social prestige."[186] Indeed, Maria Rishton was as impressed by the money spent on Stourhead as in the garden itself.

A garden structure is determined by the physical experience of visiting the garden, and the accompanying educational element: commentaries, tour guides, and the accounts of other visitors.[187] Stourhead presented theatrical settings of juxtaposed elements designed to stimulate the imagination,[188] and encourage physical interaction with the environment. The Wiltshire Traveller's row around the lake, a "miniature

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[185]William Shenstone. *The Select Works in Verse and Prose, of William Shenstone, Esquire*. Third Edition. Glasgow, M.DCC.LXXV. [1775] 108. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, Gale. University of Minnesota, April 5, 2013 <http://find.galegroup.com.ezp2.lib.umn.edi/ecco/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodld=CW117317168&type=multipage&contentSet=ECCOArticles&version=1.0 &docLevel=FACSIMILE>.

[186] Edward Harwood, "Rhetoric, Authenticity, and Reception: The Eighteenth Century Landscape Garden, the Modern Theme Park, and Their Audiences," *Theme Park Landscapes: Antecedents and Variations*. Terence Young and Robert Riley, eds. (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2002) 55.

[187] Turner, 70.

[188] Harwood, 51.

ocean", "was not the least pleasing adventure of the day". The lakeside path is roughly a mile long, the upper path doubles that length. Less accessible parts of the estate could be visited on horseback or carriage, but the lake and temple circuit was designed for walking. This was intentional: walking, especially when alone, allows a visitor to appreciate "…more keenly the companionship of the place, and via this, the sense of belonging resulting from recognizing that one is part of a select company that correctly responds to the endeavors of the owner and designer."[189]

It is highly unlikely that experienced, scripted tour guides (or well-informed groundsmen) accompanied every visitor, given the inconsistency in their descriptions of the garden. Nevertheless, the popularity of Stourhead, the resulting letters, journals, and articles that extolled its appointments, ensured that visitors would arrive at Stourhead with some preconception of the features most worthy of attention.

Once at Stourhead, the mechanics of association and experience would come into play. Intellectual stimulation was related to the depth of the individual's personal and cultural experience,[190]but differences in erudition could be overcome by the experiential knowledge gained by interacting with the landscape. Mrs. Rishton engaged in associative exercises with as much confidence as Walpole, Parnell, and Spence (the role of women in the neoclassical movement will be discussed in a later chapter).

Letters weren't written on the spot; they were the product of recollection. Sir John Parnell's sketch of the Temple of Hercules was drawn from memory – the experience of walking through a "perfectly Attic", but nonetheless purely English

[189] De Bolla, 141.
[190] Harwood, 52.

Pantheon, was a lasting one. The impact of these associations, perceptions, and recollections was individualized, and highly personal. It was important that visitors "felt" the "genius" of the place; they had to understand that they were walking through a contrived landscape inhabited by simulated deities and sacred sites. And, as artificial as the temples and Grotto were, these structures nevertheless conveyed a tangible experience of antiquity.

The mediating role of the archaeological grotto between past and present became so effective that the English landscape garden attained a genuine power of classical authority – as if Greece and Rome had been born anew in the English Campania. The English neoclassical vision was reconstituted into the Elysian fields of the English countryside – as the structures, vistas, and archaeological grottos they contained, grounded artifice in an experiential reality.

Chapter Five

The Neoclassical Experience in English Society

As we have seen in the previous chapters, the neoclassic experience in eighteenth century England was varied, dramatic, and powerful. This chapter will explore neoclassicism from the perspective of "classical consumption" – how antiquity was assimilated, and used, in both the public and private spheres. From the Dilettanti, who worked to control and disseminate their view of classical antiquity; to the architects, Robert Adam and William Chambers, who envisioned London as a new Rome, and attempted to realize their visions; and the individuals, such as Sir Charles Townley and Sir William Hamilton, who used their personal resources to amass collections that were accessible to the public. Classical consumption had a profound influence in British material culture in the eighteenth century, and shaped the future of archaeological science.

The Royal Society of Dilettanti

> In the year 1734, some gentlemen who had travelled in Italy, desirous of encouraging, at home, a Taste for those objects which had contributed so much to their Entertainment abroad, formed themselves into a Society, under the Name of the DILETTANTI, and agreed upon such Regulations as they thought necessary to keep up the Spirit of their Scheme.[191]

[191] Society of Dilettanti, *Antiquities of Ionia* (London, 1769, 2nd Edition, 1797), 1.

The introduction to the *Antiquities of Ionia*, written by Robert Wood, [192] gives a brief summary of a complex organization that began as a social club, and evolved into an enterprise promoting scholarly and artistic truth. Figure 5-1 shows the membership roster for the Society of Dilettanti. Sir Francis Dashwood founded the Society; when not otherwise occupied with the infamous Hell Fire Club, Dashwood was "…an enthusiastic and intelligent patron of antiquity."[193] The Dilettanti believed that ancient sites, particularly those in Greece, were at risk, and were determined to record the surviving ruins before they were lost. Over time, the Dilettanti came to believe that Greek architecture offered the purest source of architectural inspiration; the Society supported Stuart and Revett in Athens (and the later Ionian expedition) to promote the spirit of Greek antiquity.

The Society's Greek partisanship may have been a response to Piranesi's *Della Magnificenza ed archettura de' Romani* (1761). According to Wiebensen, the Greek and Roman "quarrel" arose because Piranesi "…belittled Greek architecture for lack of monumentality and excessive ornamentation, or *subdivisioni*. He further claimed that not only was native Italian Etruscan art both grandiose and simple, but that the Romans corrected the faults of the Greek art they used."[194] Piranesi's vision of ancient Rome *was* monumental, aggrandized, and unscientific. Figure 5-2, the Tomb of Caius Cestius, shows a vast pyramid surrounded by equally grandiose Roman ruins. Figure 5-3 is a representation of the Temple of Concord and the Arch of Septimus Severus. The Temple and Arch are imposing, but still a part of the living city and landscape. "For Piranesi,

[192] Redford, "Measure," 5.
[193] Wiebenson, 27.
[194] Wiebenson, 47.

living amidst the remains of ancient Rome was the equivalent of dwelling at the center of civilization."[195] Piranesi's illustrations were inspiring and engaging – but ultimately misleading. Grand Tourists visiting Italy for the first time did not find Piranesi's Rome. The need to distinguish between fancy and fact may have prompted the first "scientific" surveys of antiquity. As we saw in Chapter Two, *The Ruins of Palmyra* and *Balbec* were analytical studies of impressive classical architecture, "truthful" presentations of measurements and drawings taken on-site, by scholarly gentlemen of means. However, Wood, Dawkins, and Bouverie were not the only English travelers seeking to measure, illustrate, and order the Greek orders; two other prominent Dilettanti planned their own expedition – seeking the purest of Greek antiquity in the ruins of Athens itself.

James Stuart, *The Antiquities of Athens*, and Spencer House

James Stuart and Nicholas Revett left for Greece on January 31, 1751. They planned to spend eight months in Athens, during which time they should have produced enough sketches and surveys to fill two volumes.[196] Stuart worked on topographical studies, while Revett measured monuments in the Roman agora. Despite financial assistance from fellow Dilettanti (including Robert Wood and Sir James Grey), Stuart and Revett worked at a very slow pace, and the eight month excursion was extended to four years. Stuart and Revett returned to London 1755, but their survey was incomplete. They were unable to study the Acropolis, and the most recognizable structure in Athens, the Parthenon, could not be included in the first volume. James Stuart delayed

[195] Luigi Ficacci, *Giovanni Battista Piranesi, Selected Etchings* (Koln: Taschen, 2001) 7.
[196] Jason Kelly, *The Society of Dilettanti: Archaeology and Identity in the British Enlightenment* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009) 146.

publication for seven years, eventually buying out Nicholas Revett to secure sole ownership of the project. *The Antiquities of Athens,* Volume I was published in 1762; three subsequent volumes would appear over the next fifty years. Stuart's delay would prove costly; by the time Stuart finally issued Volume I, the novelty of the archaeological travel book was gone. Of the first 500 subscribers, most were dilettanti and wealthy connoisseurs; only four were architects.[197]

In keeping with the tenets of the Society of Dilettanti, *The Antiquities of Athens* promoted a pro-Greek vision of antiquity, and sought to establish England as the rightful inheritors of the cultural achievements of ancient Greece:

> In the advance of improvement, Architecture seems to have been destined to retrace the steps of her degradation. But the imperceptible chain of moral harmony is always in force: it resulted that a modern people [the English], whose institutions surpass the systems of antiquity, should be the most ardent to explore, and anxious to practice the principles of the Sciences and Arts of the most refined and intellectual of ancient nations. However it is to be regretted that some professors, ascendant in reputation but trammeled in the rules of Palladio… should have united to decry the impressive and elegant Architecture of Athens.[198]

The Antiquities of Athens never inspired social and artistic change that Stuart envisioned. Like Robert Adam, Stuart did use his archaeological survey (even before publication) as a professional advertisement. Stuart began to receive landscape commissions from fellow Dilettanti almost immediately after his return from Greece.

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[197] Wiebenson, 18.
[198] James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, "Advertisement," *The Antiquities of Athens*, Vol. I, 2nd Edition (London: Priestley and Weale, 1825) 2.

The Parthenon inspired the 1758 Doric temple at Hagley, Worcestershire, which was the first "faithful copy" of a Greek temple in England.[199] The Athenian Tower of the Winds (Figures 5-4 and 5-5) was reinterpreted for Thomas Anson at Shugborough; Stuart's work for Anson, a founding member of the Society of Dilettanti, also included a reproduction of the Lanthorn of Demosthenes and the Arch of Hadrian in Athens. Stuart's Dilettanti connections also led to what was perhaps his most important architectural commission, Spencer House in London.

Earl Spencer was elected to the Society of Dilettanti in 1756. The Secretary General, Sir George Grey (who had supported the Stuart and Revett publications) persuaded Spencer to allow James Stuart to supervise the construction of Spencer House. Stuart took over the building project, already underway, in 1758.[200] Stuart was commissioned to complete the state rooms on the first floor; he also updated designs of his predecessor, John Vardy, in an effort to "…smooth the transition from one storey to the next."[201] Work progressed swiftly at first, but was soon slowed by "…the heath and character of Mr. Stuart, who suffered from gout, had a fondness for the bottle, and was incurably lazy."[202] Spencer House would not be completed until 1766, after ten years of construction. Sykes attributes the delays to two important factors: Lord Spencer's over-ambitious spending habits and Stuart's own "health and character."[203] The final

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[199] Uta Engel, "Neoclassical and Romantic Architecture in Britain," *Neoclassicism and Romanticisim*, Rolf Toman, ed. (Köln: Köneman, 2000) 19.
[200] Sykes, 173.
[201] Joseph Friedman, *Spencer House: Chronicle of a Great London Mansion* (London: Zwemmer, 1993) 134.
[202] Sykes, 174.
[203] Sykes, 174.

structure, however, was long regarded as one of the finest private houses in London (Figure 5-6).

Spencer House demonstrates the remarkably eclectic nature of early neoclassicism in Britain. No less than three architects were involved in its construction; the celebrated Green Park façade mixed Palladian rustication with neoclassical columns and revetments. Engravings of Spencer House were circulated around Britain even before the building was completed; the amount of interest the house inspired "ranks" it "almost as a public building."[204] Celebrated as the exterior was, Spencer House was perhaps best known for Stuart's "Painted Rooms" (Figure 5-7). Stuart's interiors drew widespread praise, as one visitor described:

> …on one side is a bow window ornamented with the most exquisitely carved and gilt pillars you can conceive; the walls and ceiling are painted in compartments by Mr. Stuart in the most beautiful taste; even the very scrolls and festoons of the slightest sort, which are run between the square and circular compartments, are executed with the minutest elegance…[205]

Stuart studied painting before he turned to architecture, and the technical skill of the decorative composition demonstrates this training.[206] The Painted Rooms "were famous as the first true Greek Neo-Classical rooms in Britain, and aroused the jealousy of

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[204] John Summerson, *Georgian London* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978) 118.
[205] Arthur Young, *A Six Weeks Tour through the Southern Counties of England and Wales*, 2nd Edition, 1769, Sykes, *Palaces*, 176.
[206] Summerson, *London*, 146

Robert Adam."[207] Stuart's initial promise as an architect did indeed seem to rival Robert Adam's. However, Stuart's health and "laziness," coupled with the active campaigns of his fellow architects to remove Stuart from large projects (as Adam did at Kedleston), resulted in a limited body of architectural work. Stuart did complete several commissions from a select group of Dilettanti patrons, but by the time of his death in 1788 his chief claim to architectural fame lay in *The Antiquities of Athens*. Before his death, however, James Stuart continued to participate in Dilettanti activities, and even helped to plan another archaeological survey expedition, this time, to Asia Minor.

The Dilettanti and Ionia

> In April 1764 the society decided to appropriate a sum 'not exceeding Two Thousand Pounds', to send an expedition of 'properly qualified' persons to the East, meaning Asia Minor, 'to collect Informations relative to the former state of those countries, and particularly to procure exact descriptions of the Ruins of such Monuments of Antiquity as are yet to be seen in those Parts.[208]

Harris and Savage's summary of the origins of the *Antiquities of Ionia* is derived from the Society's Minutes and Committee Reports; the expedition was the first, and only survey expedition wholly supported by the Dilettanti. A committee that included Robert Wood, Sir Francis Dashwood, and James Stuart chose Richard Chandler, Nicholas Revett, and William Pars for the project. The group left England in June 1764; after

[207] James S. Curl, *Georgian Architecture* (Devon: David and Charles, 1993) 82.
[208] Harris and Savage, 431.

travelling through the plain of Troy, they arrived in Smyrna, but were forced to relocate to Athens after an outbreak of plague.[209] The group arrived back in London in November, 1766. *The Antiquities of Ionia* was published three years later. Modelled on the *Antiquities of Athens, Ionia* was a scrupulous rendering of ancient structures and topography. Figure 5-8 is a view of a "Sepulchral Monument at Mylasa" and Figure 5-9 shows the "Theatre at Patara". The images are precise, like the other Dilettanti archaeological surveys – perhaps, even too precise. *The Antiquities of Ionia* had to compete with Robert Adam's *Ruins*, and Major's *Ruins of Paestum*; their theatrical, atmospheric approaches had a greater public appeal than the science of *Ionia*.

The Antiquities of Ionia "…marked the end to two decades of introduction to the ruins of the ancient world."[210] By 1770, the archaeological travel books were no longer experiences of marvelous novelty, but visual sources that broadened the archaeological repertoire of neoclassic architecture. And in the hands, and imagination, of visionary architects such as Robert Adam and William Chambers, the neoclassical experience could even be used to transform a city.

The Adelphi and Somerset House: Rome Reborn on the Banks of the Thames

The London cityscape is not dominated by neoclassical monuments, central administration buildings, political complexes, or palaces. London's Triumphal Arch is little more than a park ornament, and Nelson's famed column is a monument to the military accomplishments of a commoner, not a monarch. The British Houses of

[209] Harris and Savage, 431-432.
[210] Wiebenson, 46.

Parliament are products of the Neo-Gothic Revival; Buckingham Palace owes more to Palladio than it does to the Palatine. The handful of neoclassical monuments and private residences have an incidental, almost ornamental impact: they did not embody the all wealth and power of one of the world's greatest maritime empires. During a crucial period in the city's history, 1760-1790, an architectural drama centering around two of London's most influential architects foreshadowed the ultimate appearance of the city's administrative structure. Somerset House and The Adelphi both attempted to create and define the appropriate stage setting for the Capital of the emerging British Empire. Royal Architect Sir William Chambers began the nucleus of the Somerset House complex on the Thames River, while the most successful practitioners of neoclassicism in England, the Adam brothers, attempted with the Adelphi to reconfigure the banks of the Thames as a Roman Imperial palace. In the process of constructing the Adelphi the Adam firm faced bankruptcy, scandal, accusations of shady financing, and misuse of political influence; they received scathing criticisms in the press, from fellow architects, and potential patrons.

The grandeur of antiquity was a useful and highly effective image to project against a cityscape, lending an aura of imperial majesty to the expanding economic and colonial powers of eighteenth century Europe. The experiential and associative aspects of neoclassicism could be (and were) exploited, imparting a sense of imperial theatrics to architecture and other forms of material culture.

Neoclassicism in the eighteenth century was a study of contrasts: differences between the past and the present; the present and a potential future; between

enlightenment and moribund tradition. The growing wealth and resources of the middle classes and landed gentry began to challenge the entrenched privileges of the titled aristocracy, and the lower classes, drawn by the possibilities and variety of urban life, began to significantly enlarge London' s population. Even without the benefit of classical education, London's inhabitants became consumers of classical culture, as neoclassical architects fought to transform the city into the image of a new, Imperial Rome.

The Adelphi

If Syon House was the "finest" promotion of the architectural talents of the Adam Brothers, then the Adelphi project was without a doubt the grandest advertisement of their practice (Figure 5-10). Robert Adam's "long-nourished desire to raise a great building of a semi-public nature in the monumental manner" [211] would be realized – but at tremendous cost to the firm's finances and reputation. Work began on this controversial and scandal-plagued project in 1768, and continued for another four years.[212] As risky (and perhaps foolhardy) as this venture would prove, Rasmussen sees nothing unusual in the Adams' overreaching plans:

> This enterprise is very characteristic of England. It shows us a grand speculation with enormous profit in view but also enormous risk…The English enterprise is an attempt to convey to a ground – which is in itself not worth much

[211] Lees-Milne, 32-33.
[212] For a comprehensive study of the mechanics of urban construction, development, and building practices, see James Ayres, *Building the Georgian City* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998).

– new and real value through the buildings erected on it and then take the profit of what has been produced.[213]

The personal investment by the Adams was over £140,000; building costs amounted to over £100,000 per year. Three thousand craftsmen were employed in the construction project, and the Thames embankment was turned into a network of docks, pulleys, and loading ramps. Robert Adam negotiated an Act of Parliament to reclaim the small, malodorous bay at the Adelphi site; the bay was filled in, and the Thames bank solidified into the first true embankment in London. The City of London was violently opposed to Adam's reclaiming of the bay; the City Council attempted to block the Act, and petitioned the King repeatedly, without success.[214]

The mammoth costs of the Adelphi were to be met in part by government leasing of the Arcade warehouses. The deal officially fell through well after construction had begun, and the Adam brothers were well into debt:

> …it became apparent that the level of the wharves was about two feet too low, and they were over affected by the high tides. The Ordnance Department, once Robert's employer, did not wish to take any space, as the Adams had anticipated: the Piranesian crypts, which had been expected to produce enough income to double the rent the brothers had to pay to the Duke, became a commercial liability.[215]

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[213] Steen Eiler Rasmussen, *London, the Unique City* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1967) 180-181.
[214] Doreen Yarwood, *Robert Adam* (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1970) 146.
[215] Rykwerts, 150.

A further blow was dealt to the Adelphi project in 1772, when a Scottish bank in London failed.[216] The impact of the crash was felt throughout London, and even affected John Adam's financial operations in Scotland. Lees-Milne quotes David Hume, an Adams' supporter, who wrote to Adam Smith:

> Of all the sufferers, I am the most concerned for the Adams. But their undertakings were so vast, that nothing could support them. They must dismiss 3,000 workmen, who comprehending the materials, must have expended above £100,000 a year. To me the scheme of the Adelphi always appeared so imprudent, that my wonder is how they could have gone on so long.[217]

The timing could not have been worse for the London Adams; they could not contend with both the leasing issues and the bank failure. They, and their investors, were only reprieved by an Act of Parliament permitting a lottery to dispose of the Adelphi buildings. 4,370 tickets at £50 each were purchased for the 108 available prizes. The scheme was successful, and the Adam brothers recouped £218,000.

Before the true financial situation was generally known, the Adelphi "…was accounted an unqualified success. It was praised as eminently worthy of the old Romans by the public, who supposed the great terrace to have been suggested by the sea wall and terraces of the Palace at Split."[218] (Figure 5-11; see Figure 2-20) The Adelphi was a super-refined residential square;[219] though the ground would permit no garden space, the

[216] Rykwerts, 150.
[217] Lees-Milne, 33.
[218] Lees-Milne, 33.
[219] Rykwerts, 154.

extremely attenuated profile of the six-story houses allowed wealthy residents to live in rarified, elegantly ornamented spaces insulated from the surrounding Strand:

> Here the occupants lived as if on a rock without being disturbed by the warehouse traffic below. The cellars ran 265 feet into the obscure underworld below the buildings and the streets….The air enters only through a few round apertures which hardly allow a suspicion of grey daylight to filter through…
>
> In the case of the Adelphi the *commercial* idea is no less grand and full of imagination than the *artistic* one. The scheme is a fantasia upon antique motifs: the enormous subterranean vaults, the terrace on the river and the simple classical houses with their Pompeian decorated pilasters executed in terra-cotta….[220]

Summerson also acknowledges the Adelphi's success, and the importance the building had in the neoclassical debates: "It brought the new style right into the centre of the town where everybody could see, admire, and criticize it."[221] The Adelphi was indeed the center of critical attention in London for nearly a decade - until Sir William Chambers' Somerset House rose in competition further down the Thames bank.

Somerset House

Sir William Chambers received the King's commission to design and construct the first phase of the Somerset House complex in 1776 (Figures 5-12 and 5-13). This massive office complex reflects a centralization effort that was "…an historic departure from international tradition which had always demanded a separate building for each

[220] Rasmussen, *London,* 179-187.
[221] Summerson, *London*, 140.

department."[222] The difficulties Chambers faced in trying to reconcile and accommodate the functional needs of each office was compounded inter-office jealousies and competition. Chambers had to study the spatial layout of all the old offices, and submit his proposed Somerset House plans for each agency's approval.[223] Such diverse organizations as the Stamp Office, the Royal Academy and the Royal Society of Antiquaries had to be accommodated.

Perhaps Chambers would have been more sympathetic to the Adam brothers during the Adelphi crisis had he known that he would be plagued by similar financial difficulties. When the Strand front block was completed in 1780 (only a quarter of the first-phase structure), the Chambers had spent £90,000; by 1790, the costs had ballooned to £353,000. Chambers would see very little of this money, and his private practice dwindled away as Somerset House consumed year after year of his attention. Harris believes that "…Somerset House came too late in Chambers' life and consumed all that was left of his career."[224]

The end result of all the labor and compromise was "the grandest essay in Anglo-French Neo-classicism in England."[225] Somerset House gradually became the administrative center of the British Empire, as a diverse range of offices and agencies operated with in an organizational framework previously unknown in England. The Strand front became a natural companion and counterpoint to the Adam's Adelphi. Chambers was determined that Somerset House would set the neoclassical standard in

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[222] John Harris, *Sir William Chambers: Knight of the Polar Star* (University Park and London: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1970) 96.
[223] Harris, J., *Chambers*, 99.
[224] Harris, J., *Chambers*, 106.
[225] Curl, 154.

London[226] – just as Robert Adam viewed the Adelphi as the model of the neoclassical ideal in Britain. Together, these structures provided a backdrop for the public and private pageantry of late eighteenth century London of a grand and truly Imperial scale (Figure 5-14).

Architects in eighteenth century London acted on a very public stage. Their accomplishments, failures, and personal habits became the subject of gossip and journalistic editorials. Stuart, Adam, and Chambers could not escape the publicity surrounding their hallmark projects. Stuart suffered most from criticism about his drinking and debaucheries; the Adam Brothers and William Chambers received more professional scrutiny. The Adelphi project was the center of a critical debate that involved Acts of Parliament and questionable lottery schemes – and prompted the derision of such critics as Horace Walpole and William Chambers. Rasmussen's modern analysis of the Adelphi emphasizes both the Adams' tenacity and the continuing influence of the strange, stratified world that they created:

> They had to sell their art collections and all they could spare. This however, did not spoil their reputation in society, they still belonged to the upper classes. It is strange to see how the stratification of the community is plainly shown in the construction of the Adelphi itself: the fine although plain houses for the upper classes built on two dark basements containing kitchens and rooms for servants and below these again large vaulted cellars, where the poorest classes sought refuge. Bernard Shaw and HG Wells lived for a while in Adelphi, and

[226] A. Trystan Edwards, *Sir William Chambers* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1924) 11.

from this pile of human dwellings, one class over the other, Wells may have got the idea of a strange vision of the future…[227]

The Adams were not bankrupt by the Adelphi, but they did not escape the various crises unscathed. While they managed to restore the firm's finances, their reputations were not so easily recovered. It is highly significant that Robert Adam received no major English commissions after the Adelphi debacle; apart from a few London town houses and continuing work at Osterley Park, most of Adam's work from 1775 to his death in 1792 took place in Scotland. The creative genius that had characterized Robert Adam's work did not desert him; some of the most innovative and striking castle facades and neoclassical interiors were designed and built during this period.

The professional rivalry between Sir William Chambers and Robert Adam was perhaps cemented when they were appointed "Joint Architects of His Majesty's Works" in 1761, with a salary of £300 per year.[228] Adam would give up the position a few years later, as the demand for his services became too consuming. Whatever their personal or professional criticisms might be however, the two architects became inseparably linked by the Adelphi and Somerset House. Each project was the reflection of the design philosophy of its architect; the proximity of the buildings on the Thames bank meant they were inevitably linked (spatially as well as visually). The contrast in style was thus obvious, and even emphasized.

[227] Rasmussen, *London*, 183-186.
[228] Yarwood, 102.

The publication of the Adam brothers' *Works in Architecture* prompted Chambers to defend his own work, citing Melbourne House as evidence of his own architectural accomplishment:

> 'They boast of having first brought the True style of Decoration into England, and that all architects of the present day are only servile copyers of their excellence...', and he 'can produce many proofs against the last, among others, Melbourne House, decorated in a manner almost diametrically opposite to theirs; and more, as I flatter myself, in the true Style, as approaching nearer to the most approved style of the ancients.'[229]

One ironic aspect of the Chambers/Adam rivalry is that neither architect could seem to escape comparison with the other. The scandals surrounding the Adelphi project, the greatest and most costly work of the Adam brothers, gave Chambers the opportunity to criticize; but Chambers later subjected himself to the same criticisms as the costs of the Somerset House project escalated. Chambers and Adam could, with just a glance, compare their greatest achievements in building; the Adelphi and Somerset House would appear side by side in engravings and paintings into the 19th century – just as Robert Adam and Sir William Chambers are buried near each other in Westminster Abbey.

Two architects, Robert Adam and William Chambers, strove to give London a truly Imperial aspect and to introduce the purity of ancient architecture into the very fabric of a rapidly growing urban conglomeration. They attempted to draw from a limitless source of inspiration that was rooted in the physical remains of antiquity, studied

[229] Harris, J., *Chambers*, 70.

and exploited by a primitive form of archaeology, and disseminated through all levels of British material culture. Perhaps the best summation London's true character and great potential was offered by James Stuart:

> On the whole, I look upon the late increase of London, as a natural consequence of the prosperity of the nation, and a sure token of its healthy and vigorous state…
>
> It is the duty then of every good man to join in promoting these designs; indeed, if one may judge from the apparent spirit of the times, the period is not far distant, when Great Britain will possess a capital, worthy of a nation which stands foremost in reputation, and is at once the dread and envy of Europe.[230]

Somerset House and the Adelphi attempted to create and define the appropriate stage setting for the Capital of the emerging British Empire – but did not succeed in these aims. The ultimate failure of the Adelphi scheme also marked the failure of neoclassicism in eighteenth century London. Despite the best efforts of other neoclassical architects such as Soane, Nash, Holland, and Wyatt, London never attained the aspect of a "neo-Rome." During the last half of the eighteenth century, however, the power of the neoclassical experience seemed limitless, as did the appetite for all things ancient.

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[230] James Stuart, *Critical Observations on the Buildings and Improvements of London,* 1771 (Los Angeles: The Augustan Reprint Society, 1978) 49-51.

Classical Consumers

One byproduct of the industrial revolution in England was a growing class of newly rich (and poorly connected) landed gentry. Architects such as Adam, Paine, and the Wyatts benefited from the social pretentions of their less than noble clients, as did Chambers (though he also received Royal patronage and public appointments). Most of the structures Stuart and Revett built were commissions from fellow members of the Society of Dilettanti. Such a diverse range of patrons and commissions demonstrates how the neoclassical movement in architecture affected all levels of the British middle and upper classes. New industrial techniques and technologies not only funded the Adams' elaborate building and decorating projects, but also allowed a systematic approach to design that involved cabinet makers, carpet manufacturers, iron foundries, and ceramicists (among others). As a result, the material culture of eighteenth century Britain was deeply affected by neoclassical fashions.

The classical consumers who embraced the tenets of neoclassicism in their homes and domestic interiors promoted their familiarity with ancient architecture and culture. Dilettanti such as Sir Charles Townley and Sir William Hamilton opened their collections to the public. Figure 5-15 shows the entrance hall of Sir Charles Townley's London house in Park Place, circa 1793; two of the three visitors are women, and the dresses they wear replicate the sculpted garments they are viewing. The space conveys a sense of antiquity with its decorated, vaulted ceiling and the wall structures and ornamentation. The echoing stone vaults added a sensory component to this experience of antiquity, thus enhancing the authenticity of the presentation. As a contemporary Townley biographer,

James Dallaway, commended, the arrangement was "…so classically correct, and with accompaniments so admirably selected, that the Interior of a Roman villa might be inspected in our own metropolis."[231] Townley's dining room appears in Figure 5-16; again, both men and women are engaged in active study of the antiquities. Townley was the center of an intellectual circle that sought to study, and disseminate, ancient sculpture and decorative elements. Figure 5-17, an imaginative painting by Johan Zoffani, is a portrait of Sir Charles Townley (seated, with his dog) and fellow connoisseurs, studying sculptures displayed in the Park Place library. The Townley collection was celebrated; eventually, the sculptures would help to establish the British Museum.

Sir Charles Townley was not the only famous collector in England. Sir William Hamilton, another Dilettant, was a prominent diplomat and social leader (Figure 5-18). After his 1764 ambassadorial appointment (as "His Britannic Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary to the Court of Naples"), Hamilton became fascinated by Vesuvius, Herculaneum and Pompeii, and red figure vases.[232] Of all of the Hamilton acquisitions, the "Barberini", or "Portland Vase," is probably the best known. Hamilton himself was "…proud of having brought the 'Barberini Vase' to England and wished to mark the event with a commemorative set of engravings."[233] Figure 5-19 depicts the vase resting on a bracket below the sarcophagus it came from. The Latin dedication honors the vase, Hamilton, and King George III:

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[231] Charles Sumarez Smith, *Eighteenth Century Decoration: Design and Domestic Interior in England* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1993) 365.
[232] Lucilla Burn, "Words and Pictures: Greek Vases and their Classification," *Enlightenment: Discovering the World in the Eighteenth Century*, Kim Sloan and Andrew Burnett, eds. (Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Books, 2003) 142-143.
[233] Ian Jenkins and Kim Sloan, *Vases and Volcanoes: Sir William Hamilton and His Collection* (London: British Museum Press, 1996) 190.

> Sir William Hamilton brought this vase, outstandingly distinguished among ancient works of art, to England, and had it engraved in copper, being ambassador from King George III of Great Britain to Ferdinand IV, King of the Sicilies, so as to adorn his country with the so famous name of this ancient work.[234]

Josiah Wedgewood (among others) studied the vase and sold replicas; the Portland Vase is still the symbol of Wedgewood Pottery today. Figure 5-20 is a Wedgewood replica, circa 1790.

Hamilton eventually sold over 700 vases to the British Museum in 1772.[235] Considering that he did not arrive in Naples until 1764, amassing such a substantial collection was a monumental achievement. But, was it a legal one? Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's account of a visit to Naples is a revealing look at the nature of Dilettanti collecting practices:

> Sir William showed us his secret treasure vault, which was crammed with works of art and junk, all in the greatest confusion. Oddments from every period, busts, torsos, vases, bronzes, decorative implements of all kinds made of Sicilian agate, carvings, paintings, and chance bargains of every sort, lay about all higgedly-piggedly; there was even a small chapel. Out of curiosity I lifted the lid of a long case which lay on the floor and in it were two magnificent candelabra. I nudged Hackert and asked him in a whisper if they were not very like the candelabra in the Portici museum. He silenced me with a look. No doubt they

[234] Jenkins and Sloan, 190.
[235] Burn, 142.

somehow strayed here from the cellars of Pompeii. Perhaps these and other such lucky acquisitions are the reason why Sir William shows his hidden treasures only to his most intimate friends.[236]

Hamilton, of course, presented his collection in a very different light. As Figure 5-21 illustrates, continuing excavation of sites around the Bay of Naples yielded treasure after treasure, derived from unimpeachably ancient sources. Hamilton commissioned this image to publicize the sale of a second collection of vases in the 1790s. This "representation of an ordinary sephulchre found lately at Nola"[237] presents a highly romanticized view of the excavation process. Perfect vases emerge unscathed from a deeply buried tomb, just in time for well-dressed (and wealthy) connoisseurs to admire and acquire them.

Sir William Hamilton's collecting practices are symptomatic of the hunger for all things classical, and the extraordinary (and unscientific) efforts of the early excavators. All of these factors, however, would have a devastating effect on the archaeological record of the sites around Vesuvius. The impact of neoclassical collecting activities will be further discussed in my concluding chapter, "Experiential Neoclassicism and the Beginnings of Archaeology." The demands of the classical consumers resulted in laborious, proto-scientific archaeological surveys; inspired architects to reinvent the city of London as a new Rome; and impelled private collecting activities on a truly monumental scale. The cumulative effect of all these elements enhanced the power of

[236] Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Italian Journey, 1786-1788*, trans. W.H. Auden and Elizabeth Mayer (London: Collins, 1962) 310-311.
[237] Jenkins and Sloan, 144.

the neoclassical experience in eighteenth century England, and affected the beginnings of archaeological science – as we will see in the next chapter.

Chapter Six

Conclusions: Experiential Neoclassicism and the Beginnings of Archaeology

As this dissertation has demonstrated, experiential neoclassicism affected eighteenth century material culture in England on many levels. In this concluding chapter, I will identify key experiential aspects from the previous chapters, and analyze them within in the context of experiential learning theory and sensory analyses. I will also discuss the underlying philosophical nuances of English neoclassicism, and present three case studies illustrating the impact neoclassical excavation had on ancient sites in Greece and Rome. I will analyze the roles neoclassicism and antiquarianism played in the evolution of archaeology, and question the established models for the beginning of archaeological science. The chapter will conclude with the consideration of contemporary source materials and their possible use in tracing English collecting activities.

Learning about the Past through Experience

"Learning from experience is one of the most fundamental and natural means available to everyone. …in the majority of cases, all it requires is the opportunity to reflect and think, either alone or in the company of other people."[238] As Beard and Wilson state, experiential learning is a fundamental, universal means for acquiring knowledge through the senses. Sensory perception was valued in the eighteenth century;

[238] Colin Beard and John Wilson, *Experiential Learning: A Best Practice Handbook for Educators and Trainers*, 2nd Edition (London and Philadelphia: Kogan Page, 2006) 15.

as Reinarz and Schwarz explain: "The senses were understood to be the conduits of true knowledge on which rational thought and sophisticated, informed judgment depended."[239] And, one of the basic tenets of experiential learning theory is that perception is learning: "When we perceive a stimulus, either external to us or even within ourselves, this can be regarded as learning from experience."[240] Figure 6-1 and 6-2 show the mechanisms for stimulus, perception, interpretation, and response; each of these factors contribute (consciously or unconsciously) to the acquisition of knowledge.

The neoclassical experience in England was multi-faceted, and informed its consumers through differing modes of expression. As we saw in Chapter Two, archaeological travel surveys made antiquity accessible, created visual memory fragments, and engaged viewers through vicarious, theatrical travel experiences. The eighteenth century archaeological survey can also be considered a "shared experience", as defined by Reed:

> The kind of experience obtainable from looking and listening is direct, or firsthand. But much of our human experience is not so isolated and individualistic: we learn about our world in the company of other people, with whom we frequently interact. We should therefore be careful to distinguish first-hand experience from secondhand, in which the information we rely on to learn

[239] Jonathan Reinarz and Leonard Schwarz, "The Senses and the Enlightenment: An Introduction," *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 35:4 (2012) 465. April 11, 2013 <DOI: 10.1111/j.1754-0208.2012.00532.x>.
[240] Beard and Wilson, *Experiential Learning*, 22.

about the world has, in one way or another, been modified, selected, or produced by another person.[241]

Wood, Adam, and Stuart selected images, ordered them in a deliberate sequence, and orchestrated the viewing experience. As we saw in the first chapter, perception and cognition are complex systems of knowledge acquisition; "Second-hand" experience becomes "first-hand", when the images are internalized and become part of an individual's personal experience. Olsen et al. stress the importance of and power of visual elements:

> Visual media are indispensable in the process of documentation, that is, the practice of transforming things of the past into manageable, malleable forms.
>
> …The archaeological process can be described as one that moves through a continuity of material worlds that run from ruins and remains to two dimensional "proxies," those "stand-ins" for the material world that comprise the world of our media.[242]

Chapter Three discussed three monumental neoclassical structures: Kedleston Hall, Syon House, and Osterley Park. Through the direct interaction with neoclassical forms (and movement through architectural spaces), a visitor gained physical experiences of antiquity – resulting in the gradual accumulation of experiential knowledge. Boud and Miller explain:

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[241] Edward S. Reed, *The Necessity of Experience* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996) 93.
[242] Bjørnar Olsen, Michael Shanks, Timothy Webmoor, and Christopher Whitmore, *Archaeology: The Discipline of Things* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012) 80.

> Each experience is influenced by the unique past of the learner as well as the current context. Each individual is attuned to some aspects of the world and not to others, and this affects his or her focus and response. Learners attach their own meanings to events even though others may attempt to impose their definitions on them. The meaning of experience is not given; it is subject to interpretation. The major influence on the way learners construct their experience is the cumulative effect of their personal and cultural history. [243]

Lord Scarsdale, the Duke of Northumberland, even Robert Adam, had specific agendas in creating and ordering their neoclassical palaces: each was designed to advertise and promote the power and prestige of the family that it represented. Visitors would follow scripted presentations of space, symbol, color, and form – but their internalized experience would still be personal, and cumulative. The imagery and tactile knowledge gained from interaction with each neoclassical structure would add to an individual's repertoire of classical knowledge, independent of any historical scholarship or architectural study. As Olsen explains: "Through the processes of embodiment, the vague and ambiguous become concrete and the raw and physical are made meaningful. Embodiment becomes a process of materialization whereby selfhood, gender, cosmological entities, and so on, are imbued in matter."[244]

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[243] David Boud and Nod Miller, Editors. *Working with Experience: Animating Learning* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996) 9.
[244] Bjørnar Olsen. *In Defense of Things: Archaeology and the Ontology of Objects* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2013) 35.

Chapter Four examined Stourhead, and the embodiment of ancient mythology. Visitors to the garden were shown a sequence of views, physical recreations of temples, and buried grottos: each element was designed to encourage reflection, and association. As Moon posits:

> Reflection is a form of mental processing − like a form of thinking − that we may use to fulfill a purpose or to achieve some anticipated outcome or we may simply be 'reflective' and then an outcome can be unexpected. Reflection is applied to relatively complicated, ill-structured ideas for which there is not an obvious solution and is largely based on the further processing of knowledge and understanding that we already possess.[245]

Stourhead engaged both individual reflection, and group reinforcement. Impressions of the garden were therefore diverse, with great variation in the identification of structures and design elements. Stourhead is deliberately ambiguous, delivering an intangible fantasy of the ancient past, through the mechanism of physical, tangible recreation. Even modern scholarship is affected by the ambiguities of the Stourhead experience, as competing theories of ideology have been debated (without resolution) for over forty years. Diversity and inconsistency are part of the experiential learning process, as Boud, Cohen, and Walker explain:

> For the sake of simplicity in discussing learning from experience, experience is sometimes referred to as if it were singular and unlimited by time or place. Much experience, however, is multifaceted, multi-layered and so inextricably connected

[245] Elizabeth Moon, *A Handbook of Reflective and Experiential Learning: Theory and Practice* (London and New York: Routledge Farmer, 2004) 82.

with other experiences that it is impossible to locate temporally or spatially. It almost defies analysis as the act of analysis inevitably alters the experience and the learning that flows from it.[246]

Modern archaeological theory recognizes the power of philosophical models in understanding experience and cognition, as demonstrated by Olsen:

> Modern philosophical approaches to how we experience the world have been heavily affected by idealist models of mental cognition (also basic to its discursive representation). Our experience of things is by and large conceived of as a cognitive perception in which sensory images, mainly based on vision, are filtered and transformed by our mind and language.[247]

Every modern analysis attempts to rationalize the Stourhead experience, and orchestrate physical and intellectual responses to the garden. Stourhead never presented a wholly defined statement: there was no single, unified iconography, or a delineated script that guided the visitor experience.

Other expressions of the ancient ideal were not so amorphous. Chapter Five presented three aspects of the neoclassical experience in England: the Dilettanti's attempt to control the public perception of antiquity; a public architectural campaign to reconfigure the city of London into the likeness of Imperial Rome; and the collecting activities of prominent connoisseurs who sought to educate their peers about the remains of Greek and Roman antiquity. Each of these practitioners worked to shape and direct the material culture and structure of their society. And in each instance, the experience of

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[246] David Boud, Ruth Cohen, and David Walker, *Using Experience for Learning* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1993) 7.
[247] Olsen, *Defense*, 64.

antiquity was dictated by the philosophical and economic constraints of its consumers. According to Boud and Miller:

> While learners construct their own experience, they do so in the context of particular social settings, cultural values and economic and political circumstances. As well as being the foundation for learning, experience also distorts, constrains, and limits. It is not possible to step beyond the influence of context and culture, although critical reflection on experience can expose some taken-for-granted assumptions.[248]

The assumption that England was the natural inheritor of ancient grandeur was a tenet of the neoclassical movement, and opened the experience of antiquity to many levels of English society. Artisans, craftsmen, artists, and writers gained access to knowledge about antiquity that was derived from first-hand, physical experience. For Beard and Wilson:

> We defined experiential learning as the insight gained through the conscious or unconscious internalization of our own or observed experiences, which build upon our past experiences or knowledge. Experiential learning...has been identified and endorsed throughout history and remains the strongest and most enduring of the learning theories.[249]

Neoclassicism, and the neoclassical experience, did not present a single, unified view of antiquity. Recent studies in sensory analyses of archaeological sites and how they are perceived offer another level of understanding the neoclassical experience.

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[248] Boud and Miller, 10.
[249] Beard and Wilson, *Experiential Learning*, 43-44.

Coates explored the concept of "historical soundscapes", incorporating aural history with social history "…stretching the notion of the human experience to embrace our dealings with the rest of nature."[250] Witmore asked: "Why in the articulation of archaeological knowledge have wider sensory properties of the material world been overlooked?"[251] Bille and Sorensen studied the influence of light in structures and social activities: "…the continuous process of manipulation and orchestration of the world by means of light is an active component of social life in every culture."[252] Frieman and Gillings believed that: "In order to approach past ways of perceiving we have to conceive of sensory perception as a constantly varied and varying pattern of mixed sensual experience, modified and mediated by both culture and environment."[253] Fisher examined social interaction within the framework of a built environment:

> Environmental psychologists have observed that the reading of behavioral cues requires the recognition of contextual relationships among…elements of the built environment. Thus, repetition of or redundancy in these cues helps ensure

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[250] Peter A. Coates, "The Strange Stillness of the Past: Toward and Environmental History of Sound and Noise," *Environmental History*, 10:4 (2005) 659. April 11, 2013 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3986142>.
[251] Witmore, Christopher L. "Vision, Media, Noise and the Percolation of Time: Symmetrical Approaches to the Mediation of the Material World," *Journal of Material Culture* 11:3 (2006) 267. May 11, 2013 <http://mcu.sagepub.com/content/11/3/267.refs.html>.
[252] Mikkel Bille and Tim Flohr Sorensen, "An Anthropology of Luminosity: The Agency of Light," *Journal of Material Culture* 12:3 (2007) 280. May 11, 2013 <http://www.sagepub.com/content/12/13/263>.
[253] Catherine Frieman and Mark Gillings, "Seeing is Perceiving?" *World Archaeology* 39:1 (2007) 13. May 11, 2013 <http://jstor.org/stable/40026479>.

> that social actors recognize the signs that remind them of "proper" or expected behavior.[254]

McMahon stressed the importance of sensory experience when analyzing ancient monuments in Mesopotamia; her theories also relate to the experiential nature of neoclassical architecture: "Approaches exploring the users' experience by integrating movement or multisensory perception are rare but can supplement our understanding;"[255] for example:

> …the corridors [at Khorsabad] and movement through them created soundscapes, lightscapes, and temperaturescapes, along with the visual impression of enclosure. Variability in these scapes, and their rarity, would have heightened the Khorsabad visitor's sense that the citadel and its buildings were unusual, memorable, and not to be replicated.[256]

Multi-sensory perception was also an integral part of experiential neoclassicism, as architects and designers orchestrated movement through monumental spaces and classical reconstructions. Sensory perception could also incorporate visual and spatial clues in neoclassical structures and environments, which, in a sense, acted as monuments to the power and culture of ancient Greece and Rome. Shaya's analysis of the Forum of Augustus discusses the meaning and limitations of monumental structures: "Societies use monuments to reconstruct the past rather than faithfully record it. Monuments assign

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[254] Kevin D. Fisher, "Placing Social Interaction: An Integrative Approach to Analyzing Past Built Environments," *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 28 (2009) 455. May 11, 2013 <http://elsevier.com/locate/jaa>.
[255] Augusta McMahon, "Space, Sound, and Light: Toward a Sensory Experience of Ancient Monumental Architecture," *American Journal of Archaeology* 117:2 (2013) 163. May 11, 2013 <http://jstor.org/stable/10.3764/aja.117.2.0163>.
[256] McMahon, 176.

simplified meanings to complicated events, displacing the very past they would have their viewers contemplate."[257]

In Hodder's view, there is now a tendency to incorporate theories from other disciplines into archaeological thought:

> One of the internal moves [in archaeology] was to a search for external ideas, and external legitimization of theoretical moves within archaeology. There has been a catching up with other disciplines and an integration of debate.
>
> It can be argued that archaeology has a new maturity in that,…it has caught up with disciplines in related fields in terms of the theories and issues being discussed.[258]

Experiential learning theory, sensory analyses, and current archaeological theory offer valuable insight into the mechanics of neoclassicism: how knowledge about ancient culture, history, architecture, and art, could be conveyed through sensory perception. Sound, light, space, imagery, and monumentality created powerful representations of antiquity, information that was accessible and understandable without prior classical knowledge. Even as the physical experience of neoclassicism was varied and dynamic, so too were the attempts to define its underlying principles and philosophies. Differences in values shaped how neoclassicism was practiced, and how neoclassicism directly affected sites in Greece and Rome – all in the quest for the "purest" vision of antiquity.

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[257] Josephine Shaya, "The Public Life of Monuments: The Summi Viri of the Forum of Augustus," *American Journal of Archaeology* 11:1 (2013) 83. April 11, 2013 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.3764/aja.117.1.0083>.
[258] Ian Hodder, Editor, *Archaeological Theory Today*, 2nd Edition (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2012) 2-3.

Neoclassicism and the Search for Ancient Purity

The failure to recognize the power and pervasiveness of the neoclassical experience has resulted in a somewhat bleak view of this period in England: "Behind the culture and elegance of eighteenth century classical architecture there was an intellectual emptiness."[259] Allsopp further concludes that there was no "…significant attempt to reconsider classical theory in the context of science after the discoveries of Kepler and Newton. Instead of this, a very convenient and logical deduction was made from history."[260] Wood and Adam might argue about the "convenience" of their expeditions, and Stuart and Revett certainly viewed their efforts as scientific. Though defined methodologies in archaeology and anthropology did not develop until the nineteenth century, the "logical deductions" that eighteenth century architects and classical practitioners made about antiquity formed the first stages of this evolution. The early neoclassicists profoundly affected British (and European) material culture, and shaped the way future generations viewed the ancient world.

Did the Roman Empire of Piranesi's engravings ever actually exist? Was the unadorned Doric truly representative of intellectual asceticism and purity of thought? If Rome embodied magnificence and imperial glory, and Greece was the most refined and intellectual of ancient nations, then which was more worthy of emulation? In Syon House and Spencer House, Adam and Stuart stated their views of the past and the role they felt antiquity should play in their contemporary society. Ostensibly, both structures are products of the same fascination with classical antiquity. The differences between these

[259] Allsopp, Bruce, *The Study of Architectural History* (New York: Praeger, 1970) 57.
[260] Allsopp, 62.

structures, however, illustrate how divergent eighteenth century perceptions of the classical world truly were – and demonstrate how the individual interests and influences of neoclassical architects and their patrons affected how they explored and portrayed the past.

Chambers was not an "archaeological" architect; he did not visit classical sites himself. In his youth, he did travel extensively as a cadet in the East India Company, but the only travel materials that Chambers published were his descriptions of contemporary Chinese structures and motifs. His opinions of Greek architecture were based upon Le Roy's views of Athens; since Le Roy spent approximately five months in Greece (as compared to Stuart's five year residence), errors in measurement were bound to occur. Willey Reveley, the editor of Volume III of *The Antiquities of Athens*, stresses this point in his response to Chambers' *Treatise*:

> Sir William has taken his notions on Grecian architecture from 'books and prints' only, expressly contrary to his own advice to students, and has been guided by the imperfect specimens of Le Roi, who, though an ingenious author, is well known to have visited Greece in the most rapid and cursory manner, and has therefore fallen, as might be expected into most glaring errors.[261]

Chambers' *Treatise* does contain obvious errors (such as declaring that St. Martin's–in-the-Fields is larger than the Parthenon). Chambers' lack of direct experience in surveying Greek and Roman sites did not affect his reputation as a theorist in his lifetime;

[261] Willey Reveley, "Preface," *Antiquities of Athens*, Volume III (London: J. Nichols, 1794) xi.

however, the later architects of the Greek Revival found little merit in his "archaeologically" unsubstantiated theories.

Adam's only claim to archaeological credibility was *The Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Dioclesian at Spalatro*. He did not try to replicate antiquity: he wanted to use antiquity to start a "revolution" in decorative arts and architecture.

The Adam Style evolved to include nearly every aspect of neoclassical design, and Adam used and manipulated a variety of classical sources for inspiration. Adam used sound, texture, and reflection to evoke antiquity; he embellished his creations with decorative elements inspired by Piranesi, Diocletian's Palace, and his studies at Rome and Tivoli. He rearranged the traditional Orders to suit each room or building design.

Some of Adam's most effective tools were Piranesi's engravings. Their imagery was dramatically overstated, as if the glory of ancient Rome demanded aggrandizement, and no eighteenth century artist could fully capture Italy's vanished grandeur. Nationalistic pride fueled Piranesi's determined campaign to make ancient Rome the guiding force of eighteenth century neoclassicism. Piranesi's over-inflated approach may have helped to discredit Rome in the eyes of the pro-Greeks. His proportional discrepancies would affect any visitor to Italy who expected to find Piranesi's Rome – it did not exist. The precise illustrations of Wood and Stuart and Revett would have seemed more accurate, and thus purer representations. There was an agenda behind *The Antiquities of Athens*: the introduction of Greek architectural forms into English architecture. *The Antiquities* gained Stuart the appellation "Athenian," and indeed he was the first architect to introduce a Greek house façade in London. However - was Spencer

House "purely Greek?" Stuart's designs for the Painted Room (See Chapter Five, Figure 5-7) employ even more acanthus scrolls and medallions than Adam's designs for Osterley. Worsley believes that the inspiration for Spencer House was the Roman Temple at Pola,[262] while Curl (and the nineteenth century Greek Revivalists) thought of Stuart's work as purely Greek. Perhaps Stuart's "Athenian" reputation has as much influence on the perception of his work as does the overt influences it displays.

Classical consumption significantly impacted private landscaping in England. "English Campanii" such as Stowe and Stourhead were attempts to reproduce mythological landscapes in a symbolically pictorial manner. The Temple of Apollo rises beside the lake at Stourhead, while Palladian bridges grace the gardens at Wilton House and Stowe. Sir Henry Hoare recreated scenes and structures around a mythological lake, and he expected visitors to engage in the mytho-historical experience.

Revett's work at West Wycombe and Ayot St. Lawrence is certainly less ambiguous; the portico and church are obvious reproductions of Greek structural forms. These structures helped to influence the next generation of "Greek" buildings – such as Benjamin Latrobe's 1792 Hammerwood Park. The "war" that waged between the supporters of Greece and the followers of Rome operated on many levels, and manifested itself in varying forms of architectural, literary, and artistic expression. Chambers fought with words, Piranesi and Major with images; Adam affected a "revolution" in design, while Stuart and Revett promoted precision and rigor in the study of Greek austerity. English neoclassicism was both "archaeological" and picturesque.

[262] Worsley, 258.

The next generation of architects (Sir John Soane, James Wyatt, William Wilkins, Benjamin Latrobe) inherited this debate – and moved beyond it. Soane and Wyatt interpreted the debate in different ways: Soane's approach was antiquarian, while Wyatt's was more commercial. Soane's house in London (now a museum) is literally filled to the roof with fragments of antiquity (Figure 6-3). In a curiously symbolic juxtaposition, an Adam-designed "reverse oculus" (a highly original interpretation) is framed by actual remnants of the antiquity that inspired his designs (Figure 6-4). Soane was an admirer of the Adam Style, and after Robert Adam's death in 1794, Soane purchased nearly 9000 Adam drawings for £200;[263] Soane's Museum is thus the largest repository of the Adams' designs and drawings. Wyatt also benefited from the Adams' success; he forged a very lucrative architectural practice in the late eighteenth century, fusing neo-gothic and classical design elements in a variation of the Adam Style.[264] Chambers' "horizontal" designs and Adam's "movement" would eventually give way to the austerity of unadulterated Greece – though Greece would have to share the spotlight with the neo-Gothic.

As a concentrated interest in classical antiquity eventually diffused into romantic and gothic experimentation, the architectural view of the past became increasingly disassociative and historiographic. Scholars, architects, and archaeologists began to view the ruins of Greece and Rome as the material remains of ancient cultures, not just the emblems of distinct schools of philosophy. Scientific methodologies just beginning to

[263] Sanderson, 129.
[264] Cook, 204-205.

emerge in the eighteenth century sought to measure and quantify the past - to reduce the "vastness" of time to a humanly comprehensible scale.

As the neoclassical revolution became commonplace, and true scientific methodology in archaeology emerged, the associative aspects of neoclassicism lost importance. The following nineteenth century analysis of the neoclassical debate demonstrates a philosophical detachment that would not have been possible for Piranesi, Chambers, or Stuart:

> If not a sad, a very great mistake it was, to attempt to reduce veritable Greek architecture to the quite different exigencies of modern requirements, by the simple process of merely eliminating and expunging the manifold elements of artistic design that had been gradually added to its originally few and scanty ones. Instead of so diminishing the resources of architectural composition and design, the more rational course would have been, while retaining Roman ideas, Roman inventions, Roman architecture, with all its later aggregate accretions, to have endeavoured to refine it by shedding Attic grace over Roman grandeur. Since it cannot be denied, it may as well be candidly admitted, that Roman is greatly inferior to Greek as regards the studied elegance of detail; yet, at the same time, it is vastly superior to it in its power of producing grandiose effects and varied combinations.[265]

How did the neoclassical debate relate to the history of archaeology? Only in the sense that classical archaeology in England owes its development to the neoclassicists.

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[265] W. H. Leeds, "Concluding Remarks," Sir William Chambers, *A Treatise on the Decorative Part of Civil Architecture*, (1770, W. H. Leeds, ed., 1862) 322.

Greek and Roman sites were plundered to feed the rapacious collecting and decorating appetites of architects and patrons demanding "authenticity". Designers and their clients didn't just want to impress the neighbors or endless stream of visitors – they wanted to recapture antiquity, to give the illusion of a venerated, idealized past. Every practicing architect possessed copies of the "archaeological" surveys conducted by Robert Wood and Robert Adam; and Adam's designs were copied by plasterers, cabinet makers, weavers, painters, jewelry makers, and ceramicists. Indeed, the great Wedgwood industry was founded on Adam's patterns and Sir William Hamilton's Portland Vase. As we saw in Chapter Five, classical consumption was pervasive, and self-perpetuating: and sites in Greece and Rome suffered its consequences.

The Mechanics of Neoclassicism

Modern archaeologists are faced with a two sided legacy of the practice of neoclassicism: though sites were plundered by treasure hunters (and in the process robbed of vital archaeological data), the artifacts thus acquired impelled the neoclassical movement and would later play a vital role in the evolution of scientific archaeology in England. Three case studies provide a useful illustration of the mechanics of neoclassical "diffusion": the discovery, excavation, and exploitation of Pompeii and Herculaneum in the eighteenth century; the founding of the British Museum in the 1750s; and the acquisition of the Elgin Marbles in 1816. Pompeii and Herculaneum illustrate how ancient artifacts fuelled the neoclassical movement, while the establishment of the British Museum (and, indeed, all the major museums in Europe) demonstrate the importance of

"possession" and "display" of ancient artifacts. The Elgin Marbles are as much a source of controversy today as they were in 1816, and illustrate how the voracious collecting appetites of the neoclassicists have serious implications for modern archaeology and museum politics.

Case Study One: Pompeii and Herculaneum

Much of what is now known as classical archaeology developed in the excavations of Herculaneum and Pompeii. As Conticello explains: "We are not so chauvinistic to believe that without the discovery of Pompeii and Herculaneum the science of archaeology would not have spread, but we are convinced that the discovery of these towns contributed to its formation and solidification."[266]

The workman, however, who began to dig a well in 1711 had no notion of the impact he was to make in the history of archaeology. The polychrome and white architectural marble he found during his accidental excavations led to the rediscovery of ancient Herculaneum; the discovery of Pompeii followed in 1738. "For a century and half after their discovery the two sites were treated almost entirely as a quarry for works of art, as a plaything for the various dynasties that misruled Naples, and as a romantic stop on the Grand Tour."[267] Maurice de Lorraine, Prince d'Elbeuf, who was constructing a villa near Naples, heard of the discovery; the quality of the excavated marble whetted the prince's curiosity, as well as his avarice. The well was enlarged, and tunnels haphazardly dug – through the only intact theater to have survived from antiquity. The Prince was

[266] Baldessare Conticello, "Rediscovering Pompeii," *Rediscovering Pompeii* (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1990) 7.
[267] MacKendrick, *Mute Stones*, 245.

unaware of this; the rich bronzes and marbles suggested to him a Roman temple. The theater was cleared of everything movable (in the process destroying all that remained of props, scenery, and *dei ex machinae*).

Between 1717 and 1737, continuous volcanic action from nearby Mount Vesuvius made any further investigation of the site difficult. In 1734 King Charles III, first of the Spanish Bourbons to rule in Naples, had the excavations resumed in Herculaneum. King Charles appointed Rocco Gioacchino de Alcubierre, a civil engineer, as director; as with Elbeuf, the King's aims were mercenary, not scholarly.

Alcubierre satisfied the King's desire for treasure, and in doing so wreaked more havoc than the AD 79 eruption. Elbeuf's tunnels were enlarged – at the expense of walls, buildings, and mosaics. Alcubierre swiftly found that the theater had not been completely plundered by Elbeuf, and proceeded to finish this task. Alcubierre's methodology was simple: tunnel until something interesting was found, and hack through any obstacle in his path. The tunnels reached through the theater into the surrounding town, and began to resemble a mine. The hardened mud made excavation difficult, to say the least, and the "miners" were nearly smothered by carbonic gases.[268] When Robert Adam visited Herculaneum in 1755, the mining aspect of the excavation was very apparent:

> With great pleasure and much astonishment we viewed the many curious things that have been dug out of it, consisting of statues, busts, fresco paintings, books, bread, fruits, all sorts of instruments from a mattock to the most curious

[268] Joseph Jay Deiss. *Herculaneum: Italy's Buried Treasure* (New York: Harper and Row, 1985) 28.

> Chirurgical probe. We traversed an amphiteatre with the light of torches and pursued the tracks of palaces, their porticoes and different doors, division walls and mosaic pavements. We saw earthen vases and marble pavements just discovered while we were on the spot and were shown some feet of tables in marble which were dug out the day before we were there. Upon the whole this subterranean town, once filled with temples, columns, palaces and other ornaments of good taste is now exactly like a coal-mine worked by galley-slaves who fill up the waste rooms they leave behind them…[269]

It is, of course, impossible to know if Adam's experience of "on the spot" discovery was genuine, or merely a show staged for a distinguished (and wealthy) Grand Tourist.[270] Showmanship notwithstanding, the excavation methods were at best chaotic. Bronze letters were wrenched from stones before their inscriptions could be read, and artifacts of little apparent intrinsic value were often destroyed out of hand. No records of any kind were kept. Figure 6-5 is a 1765 etching illustrating the depth of pyroclastic material that the excavators had to contend with; the Herculaneum site eventually became a bitumen quarry.

Stone inscriptions found in a field near Vesuvius alerted the treasure seekers to a new site; in 1748, Alcubierre persuaded the King to open investigations at the site the inscriptions named "Pompeii". The luck which had favored the first excavators of Herculaneum held true for Alcubierre, and the workmen soon uncovered the Temple of Fortuna Augusta. The excavations in Pompeii differed from those in Herculaneum in

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[269] Fleming, 155.
[270] Paul Bahn, *The Cambridge Illustrated History of Archaeology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996) 60.

only one respect: the ashy earth was much easier to shift than Herculaneum's 30 to 40 feet of rocklike mud.[271]

Karl Weber, a Swiss engineer working under Alcubierre, located one of the most significant finds in the Bay of Naples. In 1750, another well dug a short distance from the Herculaneum site "…turned up a number of colored marble fragments."[272] Weber's predilection for more controlled excavations was displayed at his new site, and the delicate bronzes and marbles he found emerged unscathed from the volcanic mud. Gradually Weber realized that he had stumbled upon an extremely wealthy villa, as each tunnel he dug revealed treasure after treasure. Perhaps the greatest riches the villa produced also produced the structure's name: "The Villa of the Papyri". Weber and his workmen uncovered two complete libraries, one Greek, one Latin, whose scrolls were miraculously preserved, if virtually unreadable at the time. As Robert Adam explained:

> I am afraid they will never be able to make anything of the books they have found. They are so black and rotten that they are no sooner touched than they fall to ashes. A priest has invented a machine by which he separates the leaves by degrees and has made out a few pages of a treatise wrote in Greek by one Bion in defense of the Epicurean Philosophy and another treatise against music, the author not known. The other Rolls of Books they have not been able to unfold and I'm afraid never will.[273]

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[271] MacKendrick, *Mute Stones*, 245.
[272] Christopher Charles Parslow, *Rediscovering Antiquity: Karl Weber and the Excavation of Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Stabiae* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) 77.
[273] Fleming, 155.

Adam did not visit Pompeii; excavations at the site did not begin in earnest until the following decade.

By 1770, the classical and ancient aesthetic had a firm grip on fashionable Europe. Figures 6-6 and 6-7 are examples of the type of atmospheric drawings of Pompeii that drew Grand Tourists to the site. Sir William and Emma Hamilton entertained a host of visitors to Naples, including Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. For Goethe, the Pompeii experience offered a vivid glimpse of the life and artistic spirit of ancient Rome:

> Pompeii surprises everyone by its compactness and its smallness of scale. The streets are narrow, though straight and provided with pavements, the houses small and windowless – their only light comes from their entrances and open arcades – and even the public buildings, the bench tomb at the town gate, the temple and a villa nearby look more like architectural models or dolls' houses than real buildings. But their rooms, passages and arcades are gaily painted. The walls have plain surfaces with richly detailed frescoes painted on them, most of which have now deteriorated. These frescoes are surrounded by amusing arabesques in admirable taste: from one, enchanting figures of children and nymphs evolve, in another, wild and tame animals emerge out of luxuriant floral wreaths. Though the city, first buried under a rain of ashes and stones and then looted by the excavators, is now completely destroyed, it still bears witness to an

> artistic instinct and a love of art shared by a whole people, which even the most ardent art lover today can neither feel nor understand and desire.[274]

The excavations at Herculaneum and Pompeii had a lasting impact on the neoclassical movement, and the dissemination of classical culture through Europe. Decades of tunneling in Herculaneum and Pompeii produced a truly monumental amount of material; Figure 6-8 shows the spectacle of "Antiquities found at Herculaneum being transported to the Naples Museum, c. 1782", attended by crowds of spectators. The two sites also had a direct role in establishing one of the world's greatest museums. Sir William Hamilton's collecting activities around the Bay of Naples provided England with a vast supply of Greek and Roman ceramics; the vases, along with Sir Charles Townley's marbles, would later become core collections of the British Museum.

Case Study Two: The British Museum

> The death of Sir Hans Sloane, at the age of ninety-two, on January 11, 1753, triggered the foundation of one of the great intellectual institutions of the world – the British Museum. Sloane's will, constructed with tortuous political savvy, provided trustees of power and experience whose duty it was to save his large collection for the nation. The collection befitted Sloane's position as a leading figure of the European Enlightenment; although based in natural history, it had been considerably leavened over his lifetime by the careful – if almost

[274] Goethe, 189.

wholesale – acquisition of antiquities, manuscripts, printed books, coins, medals, drawings, and prints.[275]

Wilson's summary of the foundation of the British Museum reveals that the Museum's founder was as complex as the objects he collected. Sloane's acquisitions reflected the esoteric interests of a man who was a physician, antiquarian, and naturalist – including Chinese paintings, medieval manuscripts, Dürer drawings, stuffed alligators, ancient artifacts, and thousands of books. As Sloan explains in his Will:

> Having had from my youth a strong inclination to the study of plants, and all other productions of nature; and having through the course of many years with great labor and expence, gathered together whatever could be procured either in our own or foreign countries that was rare and curious; and being fully convinced that nothing tends more to raise our ideas of the power, wisdom, goodness, providence, and other perfections of the Deity, or more to the comfort and well being of his creatures than the enlargement of our knowledge in the works of nature, I do Will and desire that for the promoting of these noble ends, the glory of God, and the good of man, my collection in all its branches may be, if possible, kept and preserved together and intire…"[276]

In Sloane's mind, "the whole of man's knowledge of man was framed in his vast collections."[277] Sloane's bequest was intended to benefit the British nation as a whole,

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[275] David M. Wilson, "The British Museum: 250 Years On," *History Today* 52:10 (2002). May 1, 2013 <http://www.historytoday.com>.
[276] "Printed Will and Codicils of Sir Hans Sloane, Bart. 1753," *Hands on the Past: Pioneering Archaeologists Tell Their Own Stories*, C. W. Ceram, ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1966) 41.
[277] David M. Wilson, *The British Museum: Purposes and Politics* (London: British Museum Publications, 1989) 13.

and thus fell into the provenance of Parliament and the government. Parliament was somewhat hesitant in accepting the honor of Sloane's bequest, largely because of the ever present concern over funding and curatorial logistics.[278] The distinguished trustees of the bequest, including King George III and Horace Walpole, were less than enthusiastic about their new responsibilities. Walpole described his involvement with characteristic acerbity in a letter from February, 1753:

> You will scarce guess how I employ my time; chiefly at present in the guardianship of embryos and cockleshells. Sir Hans Sloane is dead, and has made me one of the trustees to his museum, which is to be offered for twenty thousand pounds to the King, the Parliament, the Royal Academies of Petersburgh, Berlin, Paris, and Madrid. He valued it at fourscore thousand; and so would anybody who loves hippopotamuses, sharks with one ear, and spiders as big as geese!....You may believe that those who think money the most valuable of all curiosities, will not be purchasers. The King has excused himself, saying he did not believe that there are twenty thousand pounds in the Treasury."[279]

Despite the King's doubts, and Walpole's derision, Parliament accepted Sir Hans Sloane's bequest; Montagu House in Bloomsbury became the first incarnation of the British Museum in 1759. Thomas Hollis bequeathed his collection of classical antiquities to the Museum in 1757; Sir William Hamilton's tenure as Ambassador to the Kingdom of Naples produced a formidable collection of Greek and Roman vases, some of which were sold to the museum in 1772. The collecting role of the British Museum

[278] Wilson, *250 Years*, 1.
[279] Horace Walpole, "The Letters, Volume III, 1903," *Hands*, Ceram, 45.

was thus at first a passive one, with the British aristocracy occasionally donating part or all of their Grand Tour acquisitions to the new national museum. The Museum did have a public appeal, as Figure 6-9 (an 1808 engraving of the entrance hall and staircase at Montagu House) demonstrates. Significantly, a number of the visitors were women, indicating that the Museum experience had an appeal even for those without access to a formal classical education, or membership in intellectual societies such as the Antiquaries or the Dilettanti. Additions such as Sir Charles Townley's antiquities collection in 1805 and the Elgin Marbles in 1816 firmly established the scholarly credibility of the British Museum – though the acquisition of the Elgin Marbles placed the Museum, and England, in an ethical quandary that is still unresolved.

Case Study Three: The Elgin Marbles

The "Elgin Marbles" (consisting of portions of the figural frieze of the east Pediment of the Athenian Parthenon and an assortment of carved metopes) were acquired by Thomas Bruce, seventh Earl of Elgin, in 1801. Elgin's tenure as Ambassador to Constantinople was more noted for rapacious acquisition efforts than for diplomacy. He hired an engraver, Giovanni Lusieri, to obtain and transport decoratively useful antiquities from the most significant Athenian structures. By means of strategic bribery and manipulation of Turkish attitudes towards Greek antiquities, Elgin received a firman (signed authorization) from the Turkish governor of Greece; the firman authorized that "…nobody may hinder him from removing carved figures from the Acropolis, or

inscribed blocks of stone."[280] The Parthenon frieze *was* composed of pieces of stone with "figures thereon" – but did this vague and elastic firman truly empower Elgin to remove one of the great treasures of Greek antiquity? Elgin and Lusieri apparently had no legal qualms, and work began on the Parthenon in July, 1801.

Lusieri and his workers industriously sawed the backs off figures in the frieze (to lighten them for shipping), cut capitals and other marbles in half (so that they might be carried through narrow gates), and sawed through parts of the frieze. From the first, shipping concerns were of more importance to Lusieri than artistic ethics; the consequent damage inflicted on the Parthenon was extensive and irretrievable. Sculptures from the Acropolis were shipped to England in stages, beginning in 1802 (on a ship which sank, requiring a hazardous retrieval of the cargo). Elgin had better luck in 1803, when the marbles safely departed Greece for England. Eventually, at least 200 cases of Parthenon material were shipped to London.[281] Elgin himself was not quite so lucky: on his way back to England he was captured as a French hostage, and remained in captivity for nearly three years.

Elgin never personally visited the Parthenon; indeed, he never set foot on Greek soil. Lusieri, as Elgin's agent, chose specific sculptures for his patron and dispatched them to Britain as ordered. Elgin claimed for himself an overwhelming moral imperative: he must save the treasures of Greek culture from the destructive contempt of the occupying Turks, as he explained in the 1811 *Memorandum on the Subject of the Earl of Elgin's Pursuits in Greece*:

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[280] C. W. Ceram, *Gods, Graves, and Scholars: The Story of Archaeology*, 2nd Edition, trans. E. B. Garside and Sophie Wilkins (New York: Vintage Books, 1986) 45.
[281] Ceram, *Gods*, 45.

> …the artists [Lusieri and company] had the mortification of witnessing the very wilful devastation, to which all the sculpture, and even the architecture, were daily exposed, on the part of the Turks and travelers…The Temple of Minerva had been converted into a powder magazine, and been completely destroyed, from a shell falling upon it…Besides, it is well known that the Turks will frequently climb up the ruined walls, and amuse themselves in defacing any sculpture they can reach; or in breaking columns, statues, or other remains of antiquity, in the fond expectation of finding within them some hidden treasures.
>
> Under these circumstances, Lord Elgin felt himself impelled, by a stronger motive than personal gratification, to endeavor to preserve any specimens of sculpture, he could, without injury, rescue from such impending ruin…[282]

Regardless of whether Elgin's collecting activities were the result of a disinterested crusade for the salvation of classical Greek culture – or merely opportunistic exercises in interior decoration – the fact remains that Elgin's acquisitions provoked a storm of controversy throughout England and Europe that has yet to dissipate.

The fate of the Elgin Marbles was in question almost from the moment the sculptures entered England. Because of Elgin's financial difficulties he was unable to use the marbles to decorate his Scottish estate as originally planned. They were moved around London, displayed first in a wooden shed near Elgin's house in Park Lane, then moved to another wooden shed at Burlington House. This haphazard staging (and

[282] Thomas Bruce, Earl of Elgin, *Memorandum on the Subject of the Earl of Elgin's Pursuits in Greece*, 1811, *Hands,* Ceram, 48-49.

acquisition itself) enraged the philhellenes; Lord Byron's poetry offers a scathing indictment of Lord Elgin:

> But who, of all the plunderers of yon fane
> On high, where Pallas linger'd, loth to flee
> The latest relic of her ancient reign, -
> The last, the worst, dull spoiler, who was he?
> Blush, Caledonia, such thy son could be!
> England, I joy no child he was of thine;
> Thy free-born men should spare what once was free;
> Yet they could violate each saddening shrine,
> And bear these altars o'er the long-reluctant brine.[283]

Byron's vilification was only one of the difficulties that plagued Elgin. His personal finances grew so unstable that he was forced to find a buyer for his collection – though he could not hope to recover even half of his £90,000 debt. At the urging of a trustee of the British Museum, Elgin presented his terms for sale of the marbles to the British Parliament in 1811. He explained his acquisition of the Parthenon sculptures as an exercise in nationalistic fervor:

> …with an enlightened and encouraging protection bestowed on genius and the arts, it may not be too sanguine to indulge a hope, that, prodigal as Nature is in the perfections of the human figure in this country, animating as are the instances of patriotism, heroic actions, and private virtues, deserving commemoration, sculpture may be soon raised in England to rival the ablest productions of the best times of Greece.[284]

Elgin estimated his expenses in connection with the marbles at over £62,000, but Parliament was considering a sum no greater than £30,000. The matter was finally

[283] Byron, *Child Harold*, Canto the Second, XI, 21.
[284] Elgin, *Memorandum*, 50.

settled in 1816, when Elgin used the marbles to secure an £18,000 debt with the Chancellor of the Exchequer. An investigation of Elgin and his acquisitions was still then in progress, and Parliament raised rather more questions about the controversy than it solved. Nevertheless, the House of Commons passed an Act of Parliament to officially purchase the Marbles for a sum of £35,000, for the ultimate benefit of the British Museum.[285] Figure 6-10 is an 1810 painting of the "Elgin Rooms" at Montagu House, displaying Elgin's acquisitions in a suitably neoclassical setting. Figure 6-11 shows the Parthenon figures as they appear today.

All three case studies illustrate the mechanics of the practice of neoclassicism: excavation, collection, and dissemination. Excavations at Pompeii and Herculaneum inspired the neoclassic obsession with antiquity; the founding of the British Museum demonstrated the logistical difficulties of housing and conserving the vast amount of material that the English collectors accumulated; and the acquisition of the Elgin Marbles shows the extreme lengths to which neoclassical collectors would go. Understanding the social dynamics of neoclassicism is vital when considering the beginnings of archaeology.

Neoclassicism and the History of Archaeology

Through the course of this dissertation, I have explored neoclassicism as a force of transformation, education, association, and cultural inspiration. How, then, does neoclassicism relate to the development of archaeological science? Neoclassicism was the mechanism that disseminated ancient Greek and Roman cultural forms to the social

[285] Ceram, *Hands*, 47.

and material culture of eighteenth century England, independent of intellectual association or prior classical knowledge. Antiquarian investigation was not the primary motivation for the excavation and study of classical antiquities in England.[286] Nevertheless, neoclassical practitioners did study antiquities: surveyors such as Robert Wood and James Stuart spent years recording and illustrating exotic ancient sites; architects like Robert Adam and William Chambers used the language of classical architecture and decorative motifs to transform domestic and urban spaces; and collectors such as Sir Hans Sloane, Sir Charles Townley, and Sir William Hamilton amassed collections of antiquities for both personal and public benefit. Neoclassicism was a force of transformation, and acknowledgement of its effects may help to resolve the difficulty archaeological historians have had in relating antiquarianism to the development of archaeology in England.

The study of the history of archaeology is well documented; as most treatments are concerned with archeology in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, they do not pertain to this dissertation. However, respected researchers in the field, namely, Piggot, Daniel, Trigger, Renfrew, and Hodder, have attempted to reconcile antiquarian studies with the origins of archaeology (successfully, in most areas of Europe) – but England has always been an exception to the rule.

Daniel believed that "…formal historical antiquarianism as distinct from dilettantism and the history of art began in England in the sixteenth century."[287] However, his analysis of Horace Walpole's attitudes towards the objective study of

[286] This was not the case in other areas of Europe, most notably Scandinavia and Germany.
[287] Glyn Daniel, *150 Years of Archaeology* (Great Britain: Duckworth, 1975) 17.

artifacts demonstrates how difficult it is to reconcile antiquarianism and the development of scientific archaeology. The London Society of Antiquaries published a journal, *Archaeologia*, in 1770; Horace Walpole, an Antiquary and Dilettant, was not impressed.

> Horace Walpole castigated those members of the Society of Antiquaries who had no aesthetic feeling and no taste. 'Mercy on us', he wrote on reading through the second volume of *Archaeologia*, 'what a cartload of bricks and rubbish and Roman ruins they have piled together.' And elsewhere he added:
>
> > 'The antiquaries will be as ridiculous as they used to be; and since it is impossible to infuse taste in them, they will be as dry and dull as their predecessors. One may revive what perished, but it will perish again, if more life is not breathed into it than it enjoyed originally…. I have no curiosity to know how awkward and clumsy men have been in the dawn of arts or in their decay.'
>
> It would be a long time before the work of archaeologists was generally recognized as a serious discipline.[288]

Trigger also found curious inconsistencies in English antiquarianism; though the Society of Antiquaries of London was founded in 1717 and chartered in 1751, they took little interest in ancient Greece and Rome until much later in the century.[289] According to Trigger, "The late eighteenth century has been viewed as a period of intellectual decline in historical and antiquarian studies."[290]

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[288] Glyn Daniel, *A Short History of Archaeology* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1981) 46-47.
[289] Bruce Trigger*, A History of Archaeological Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989) 66.
[290] Trigger, *History*, 66.

Neoclassicism valued the historical association of excavated objects, not their context. Antiquity was used to promote an agenda: the power and glory of ancient Greece and Rome was reborn in England, and incorporating classical forms and fragments into neoclassical structures imbued them with the spirit of antiquity. As Piggot commented,

> By the eighteenth century, the study of the classical past had arrived at a curious position which it was to maintain almost until yesterday, wherein the Greeks and Romans were the Great Exemplars, to be studied as patterns of conduct in private and public life, literature, and the arts.[291]

According to Hodder, until artifacts could be viewed, not associatively, but as existing within a known and documented context, true archaeological science could not develop.[292] Neoclassicism, its practitioners and consumers, drove the public appetite for the experience of antiquity and antiquities. In England, Greece and Rome were a force of social transformation, and ancient material remains were fragments to be incorporated into the fabric of the experiential neoclassical revolution. However, the sheer volume of material brought back to England by collectors and architects would, eventually, lead to the recognition of artifacts as cultural objects in their own right. Classical archaeology in England could then begin in earnest.

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[291] Stuart Piggot, *Approach to Archaeology* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959) 108.
[292] Ian Hodder, *Reading the Past: Current Approaches to Interpretation in Archaeology*, 2nd Edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991) 4.

Areas for Future Research

The practice of neoclassicism had a devastating effect on ancient sites, especially Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Athens. There was also a flourishing market in forgeries:

> This was also a time when Italian sculptors were producing items such as portrait heads and relief panels from sarcophagi that could be sold as ancient. Today they might be considered fakes; then, they were objects of pride that enhanced the range of any newly formed classical collection.[293]

Modern scholars are thus faced with the challenge of distinguishing genuine antiquities from the false. In the case of Syon House (as was discussed in Chapter Three), at least one of the supposedly Roman scagliola columns in the Ante Room is veneered with a steel shaft. James Adam procured the columns in Rome, and sent them to England for the Syon project. Did the the Adams knowingly use the replicated columns (with a false Roman attribution), or were the architects duped by a clever Italian forger? Contemporary sources could shed light on this issue.

Thousands of letters and travel journals published in the eighteenth century contain vast amounts of minute data about the activities of English travelers and Grand Tourists: destinations, interactions, and the purchase and disposition of antiquities acquisitions. A database of correspondence and journal data would be of immense value for provenance studies, and provide detailed information on otherwise lost artifact assemblages. This database would also yield valuable information about the practice of neoclassicism: its social and disciplinary influences, and long term effects. If, for example, the collecting activities of English travelers to Italy could be analyzed, such

[293] Bahn, 62.

records would significantly increase the documentary evidence available for provenance assessments of privately held collections.

As I hope this dissertation has proven, experiential neoclassicism was a dynamic source of inspiration and social transformation. The power of sensory experience and perception is now being recognized in archaeological theory, and recognizing the role that experiential neoclassicism played in disseminating accessible knowledge about antiquity will help to bridge the gap between English antiquarianism and the development of archaeological science. And, with this understanding, we can now appreciate how the buried past of ancient Greece and Rome illuminated the material culture of eighteenth century England.

Figures

Figure 2-1, *View of Palmyra*

Figure 2-2, *View of Palmyra*

Figure 2-3, *Geometrical Plan of Palmyra*

Figure 2-4, *Temple of the Sun, Palmyra*

Figure 2-5, *Small Temple at Palmyra*

Figure 2-6, *Colonnade, Palmyra*

Figure 2-7, *Tribunal of a Basilica*

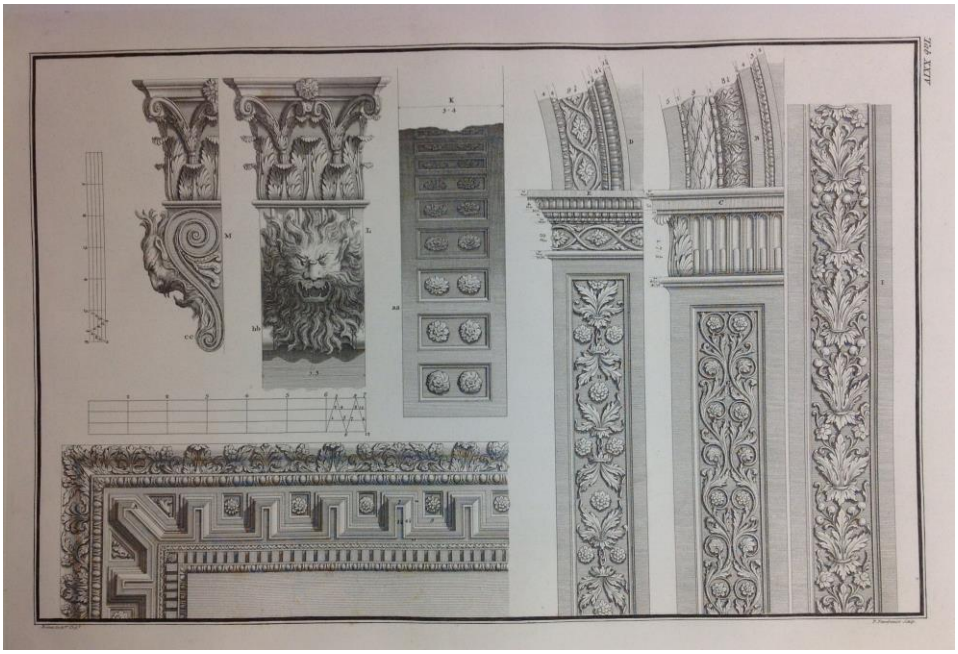

Figure 2-8, Reconstructed Architectural Elements

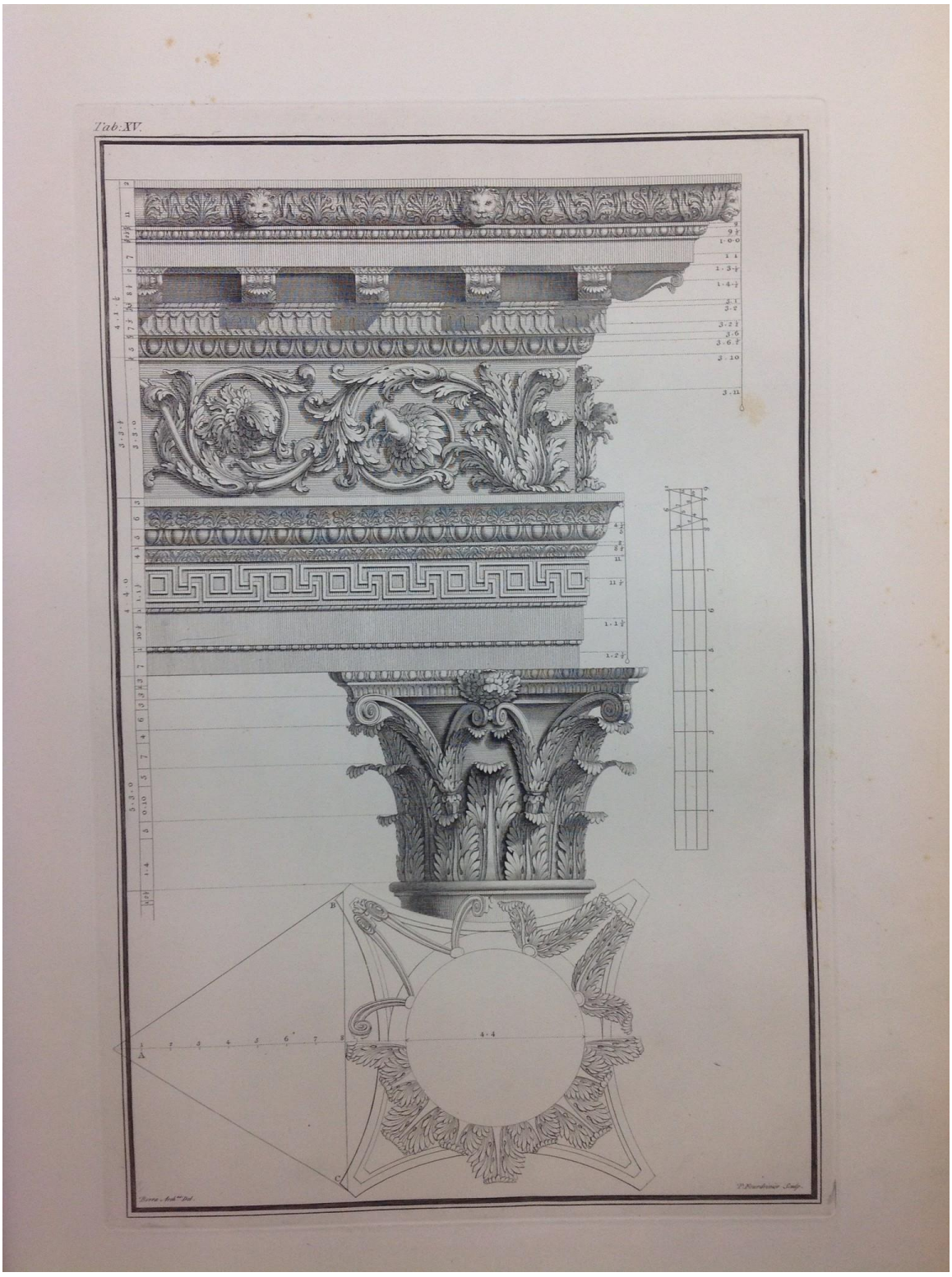

Figure 2-9, Elements of a Corinthian Capital and Entablature

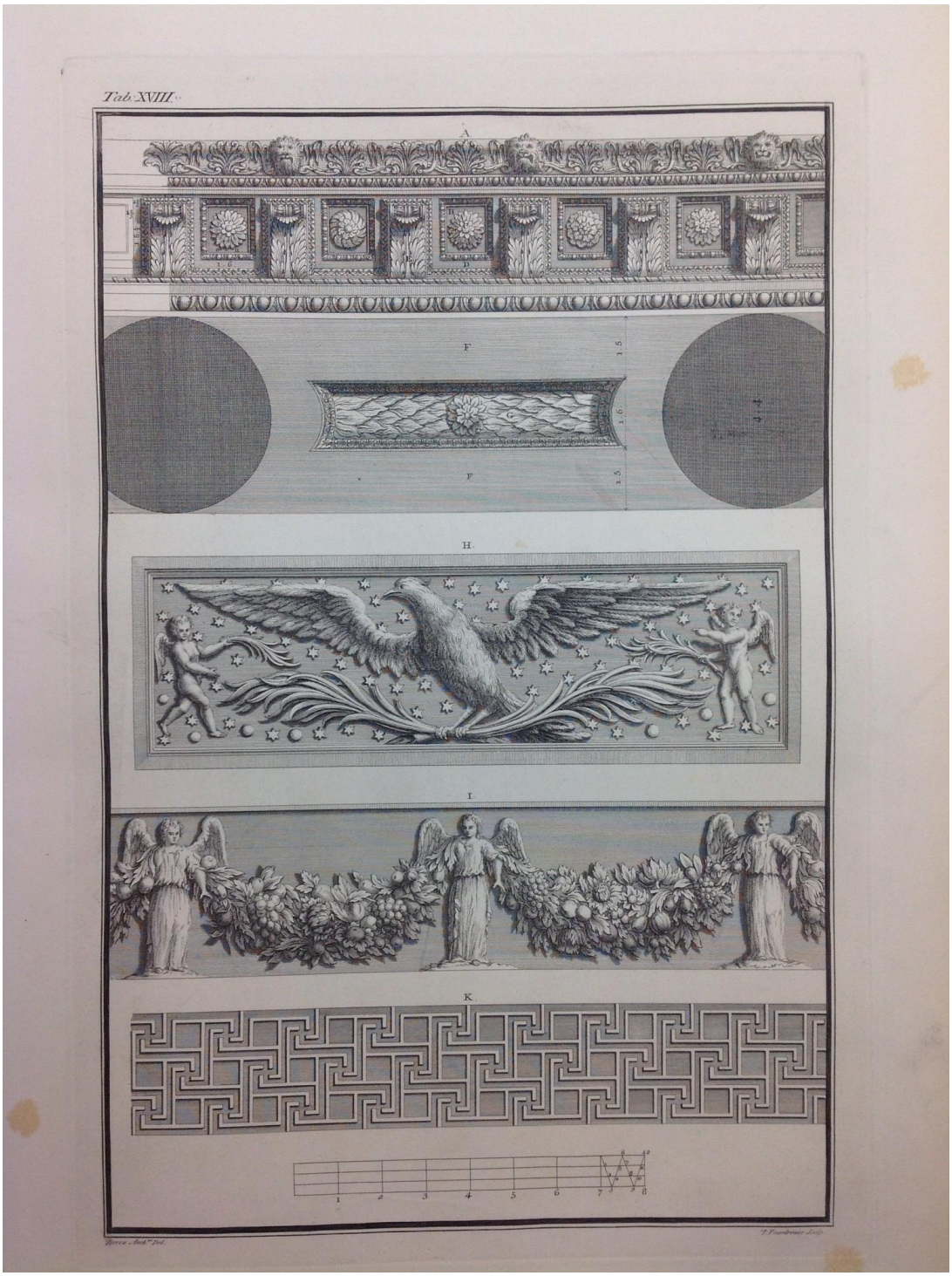

Figure 2-10, Reconstructed Ornamental Elements

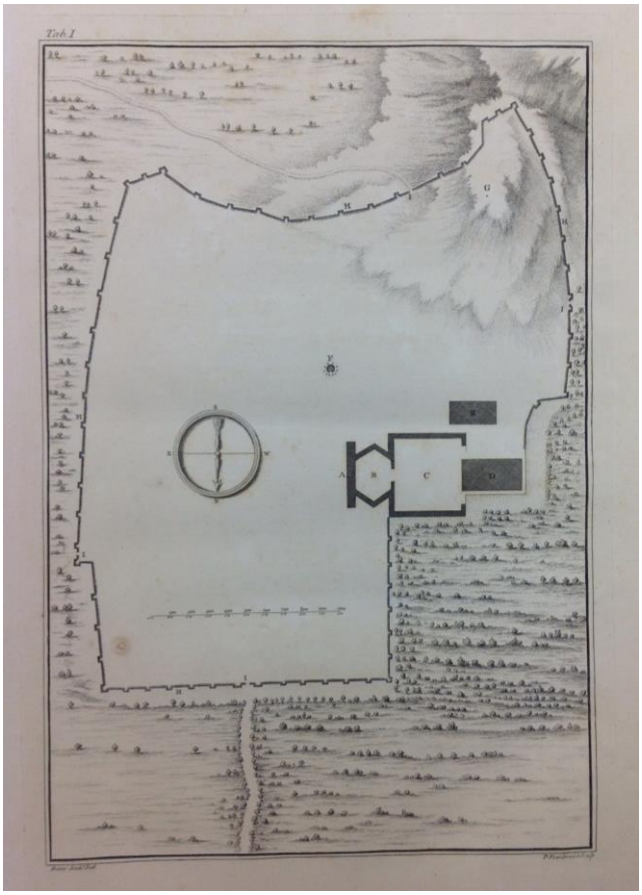

Figure 2-11, *Plan of Balbec*

Figure 2-12, *View of Balbec*

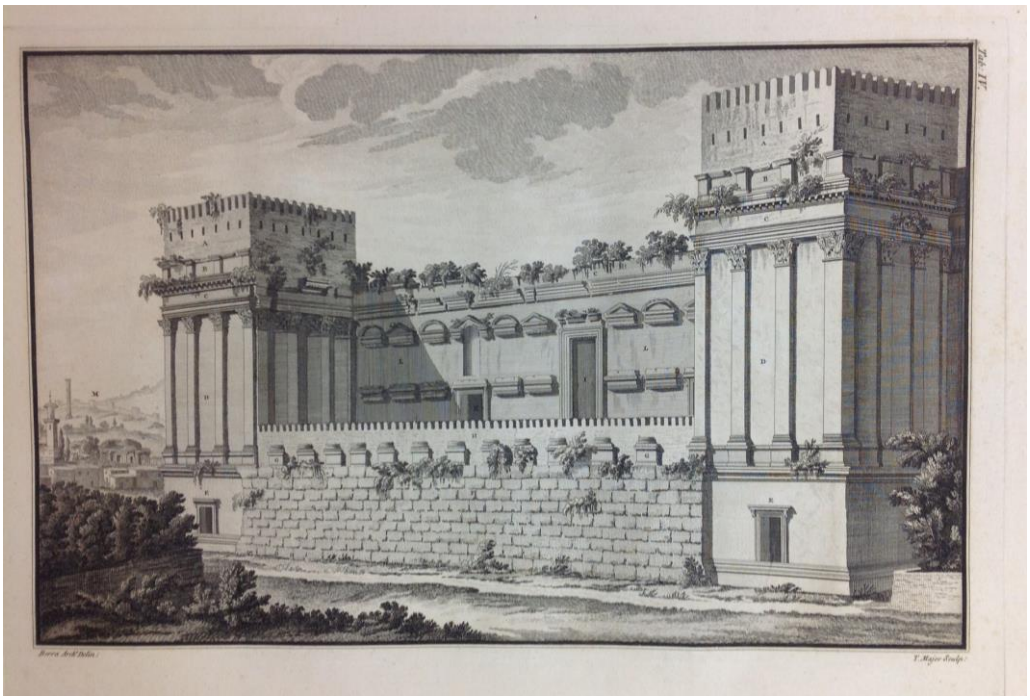

Figure 2-13, Balbec, *Portico of the Great Temple*

Figure 2-14, Balbec, *View of the Most Entire Temple*

Figure 2-15, Balbec, *Interior of the Most Entire Temple*

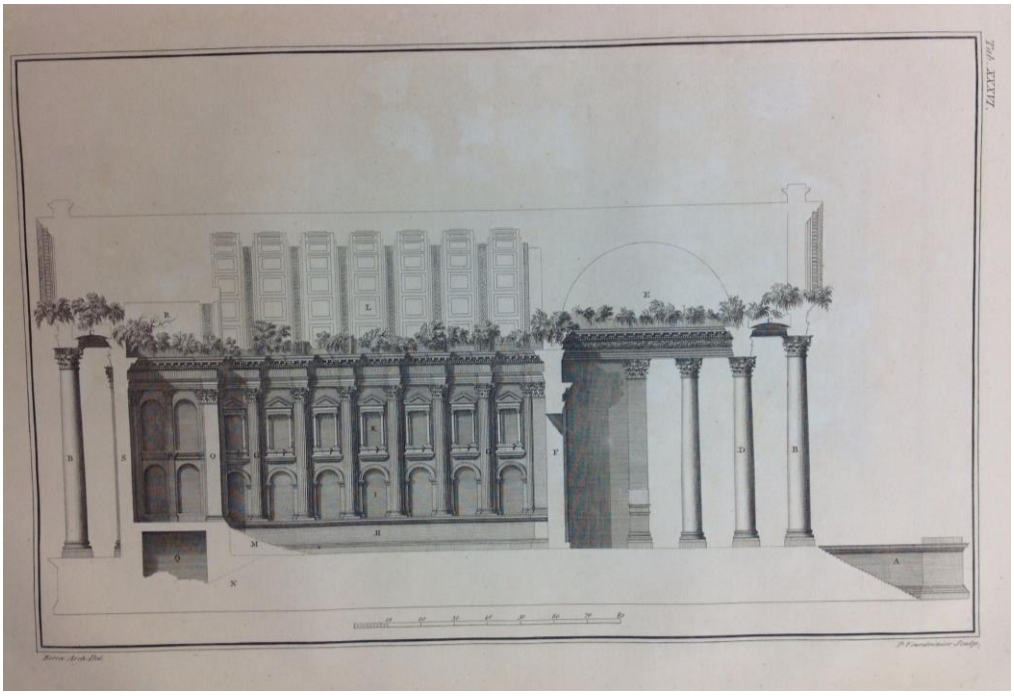

Figure 2-16, Balbec, *Section, with Reconstructed Roof*

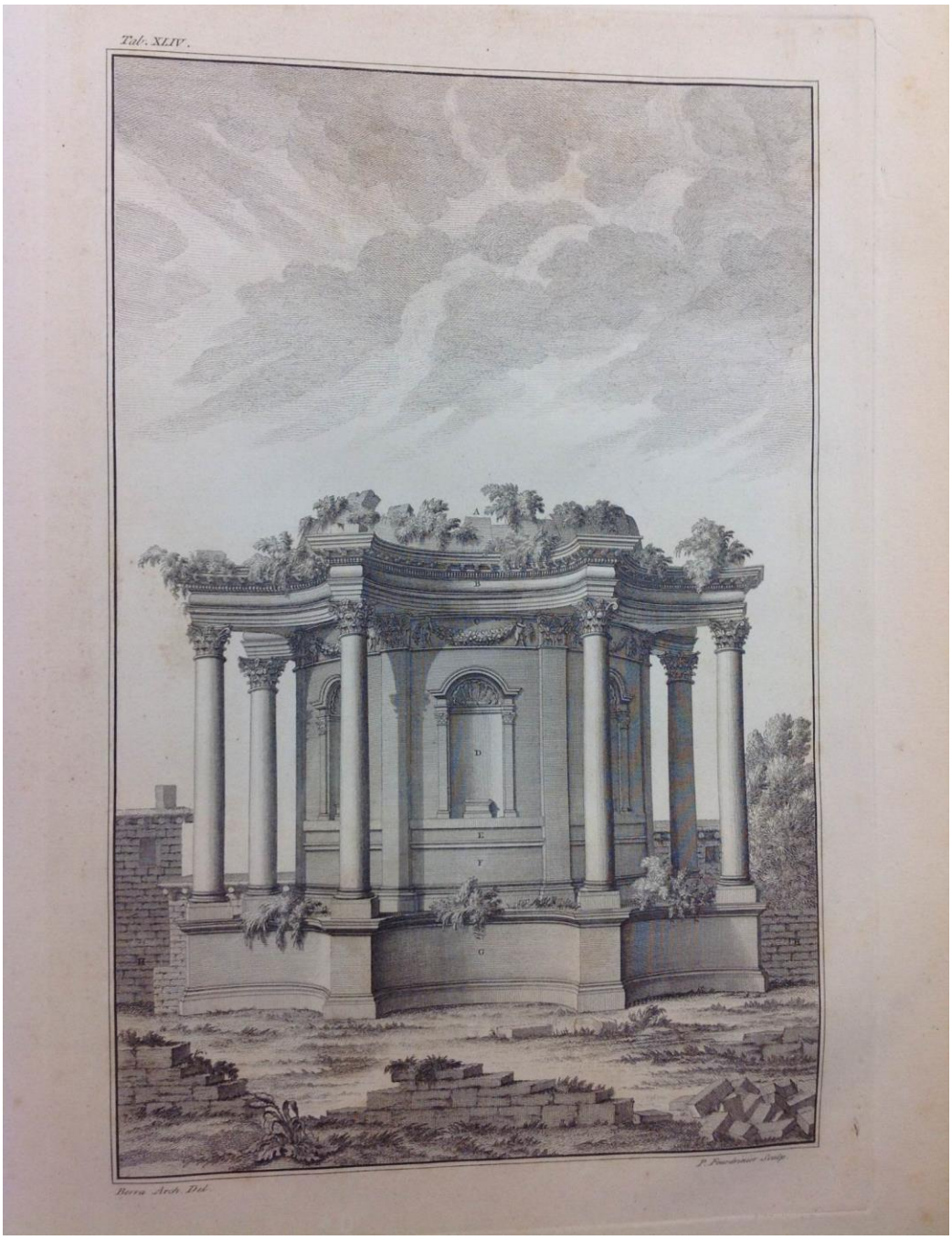

Figure 2-17, Balbec, *The Circular Temple*

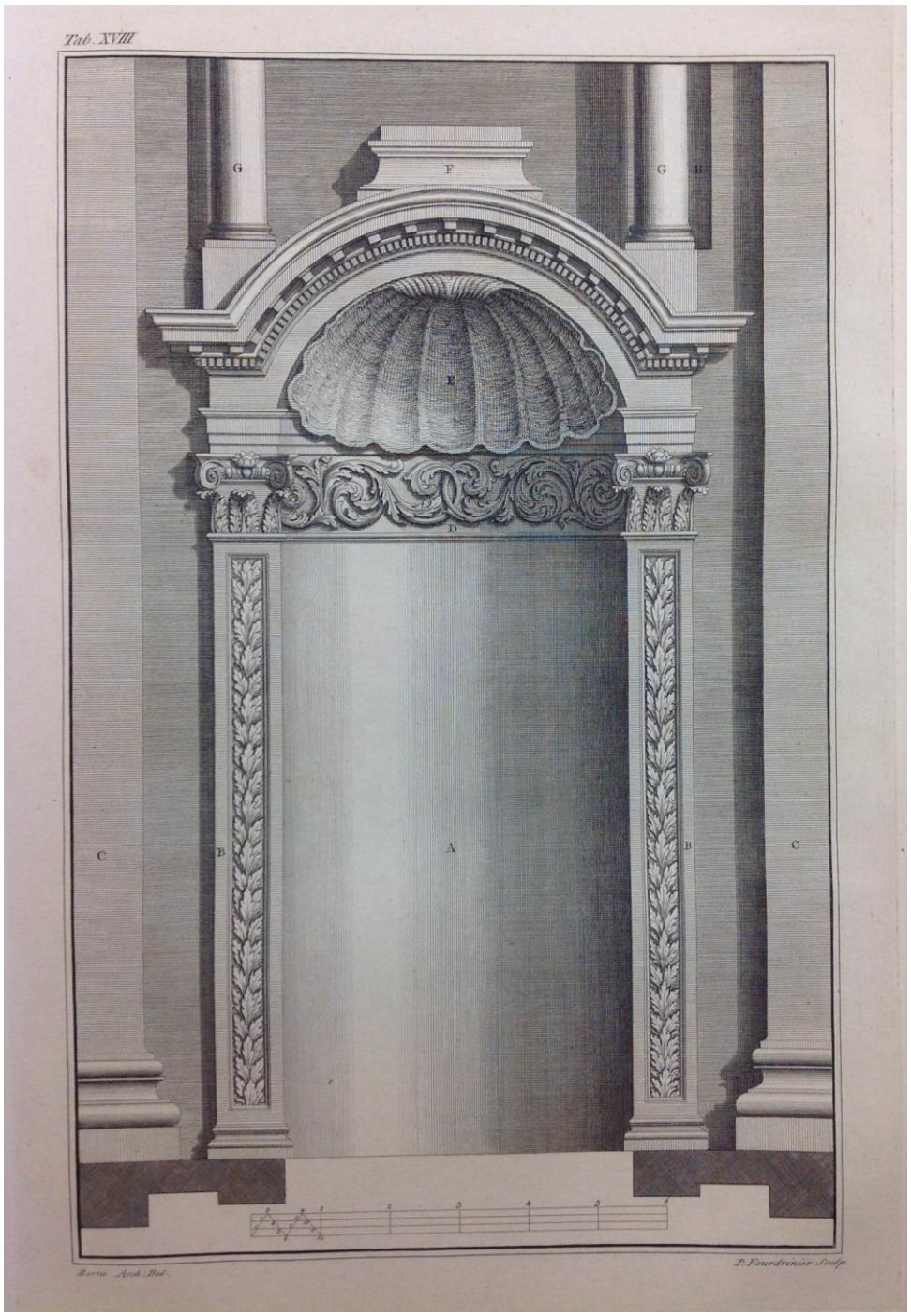

Figure 2-18, Balbec, *A Semi-Circular Exedra*

Figure 2-19, *Plan of Spalatro*

Figure 2-20, Spalatro, *Cryptoporticus*

Figure 2-21, Spalatro, *View of the Peristylium of the Palace*

Figure 2-22, *View of the Inside of the Temple of Jupiter*

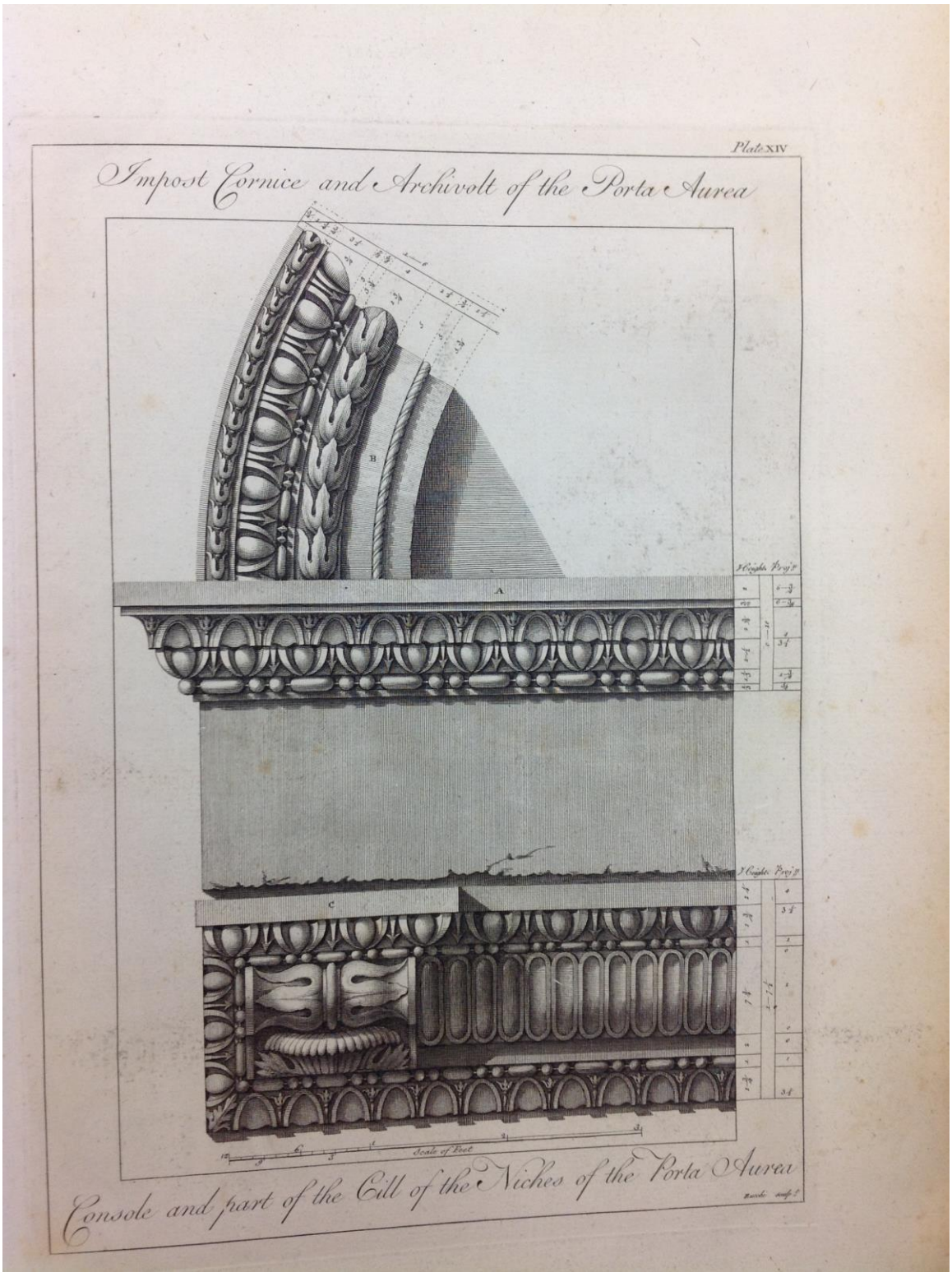

Figure 2-23, Spalatro, *Decorative Elements*

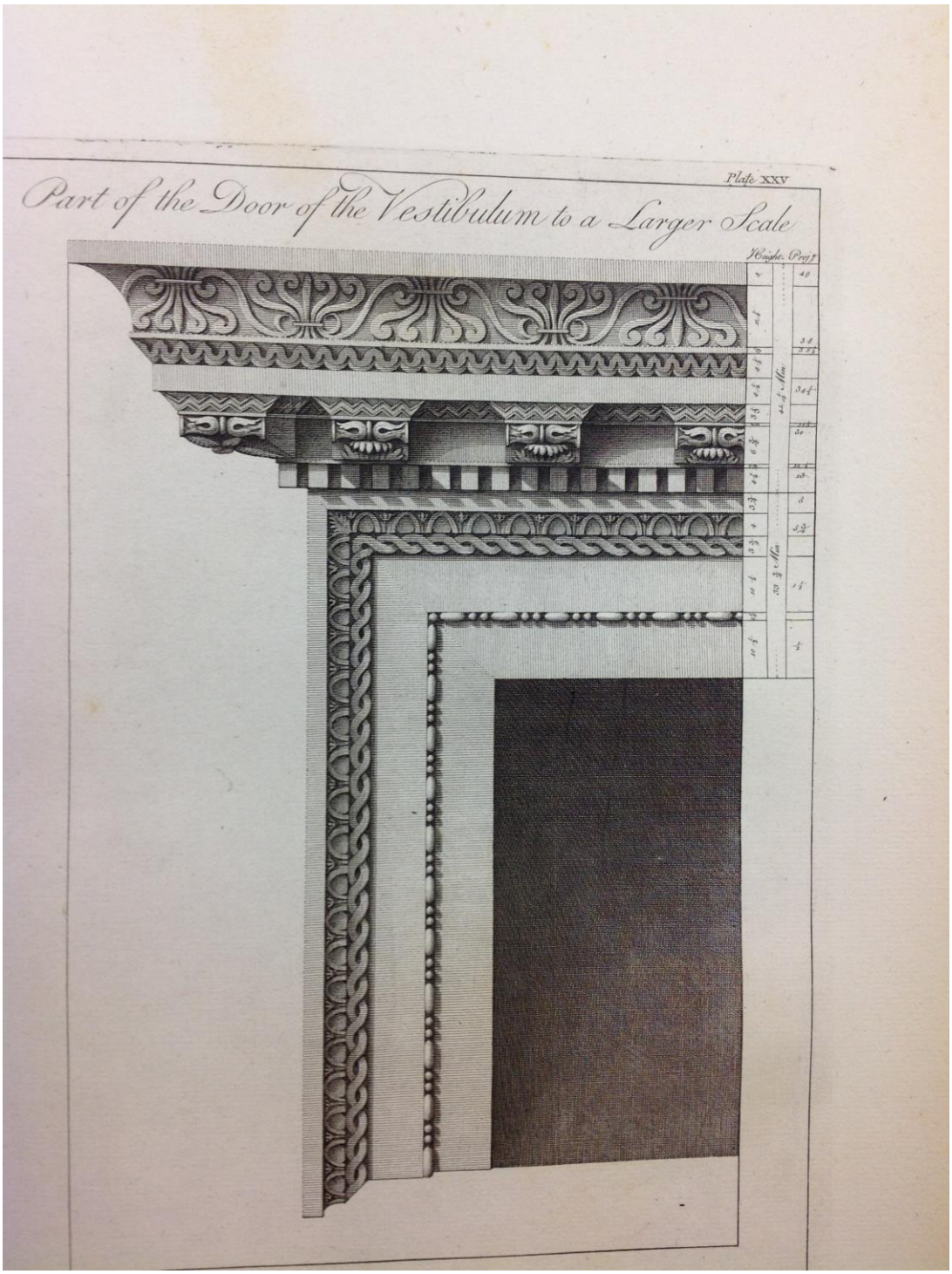

Figure 2-24, Spalatro, *Decorative Elements*

Figure 2-25, Paestum, *View of the Temples*

Figure 2-26, Paestum, *View of the Three Temples, taken from the East*

Figure 2-27, Paestum, *A North View of the City of Paestum*

Figure 2-28, Paestum, *A View of the Hexastyle Ipetral Temple*

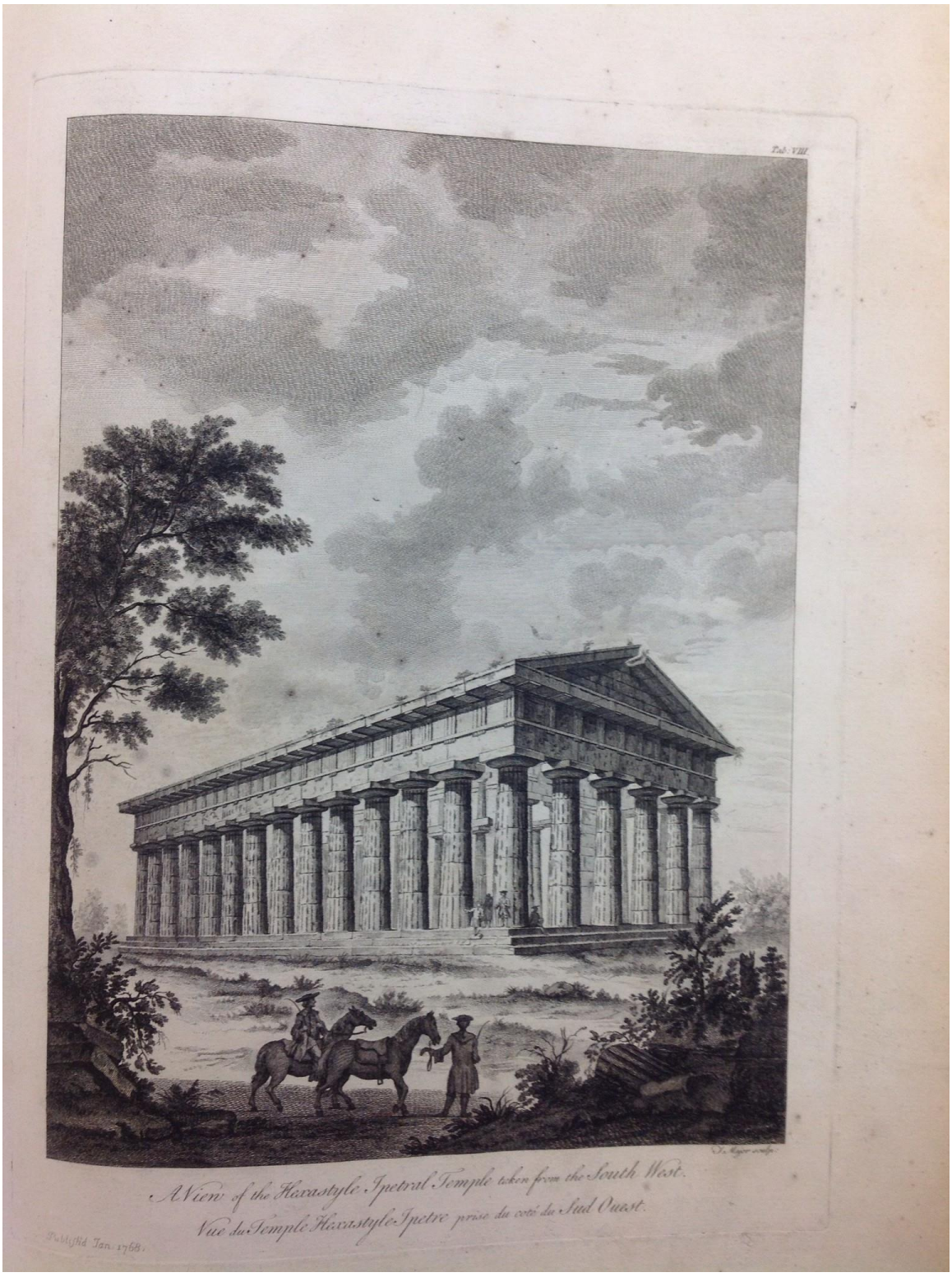

Figure 2-29, Paestum, *A View of the Hexastyle Ipetral Temple from the South West*

Figure 2-30, Paestum, *A View of the Hexastyle Peripteral Temple*

Figure 2-31, Paestum, *Internal View of the Hexastyle Peripteral Temple*

Figure 2-32, Paestum, *View of the Pseudodipteral Temple, or Basilica*

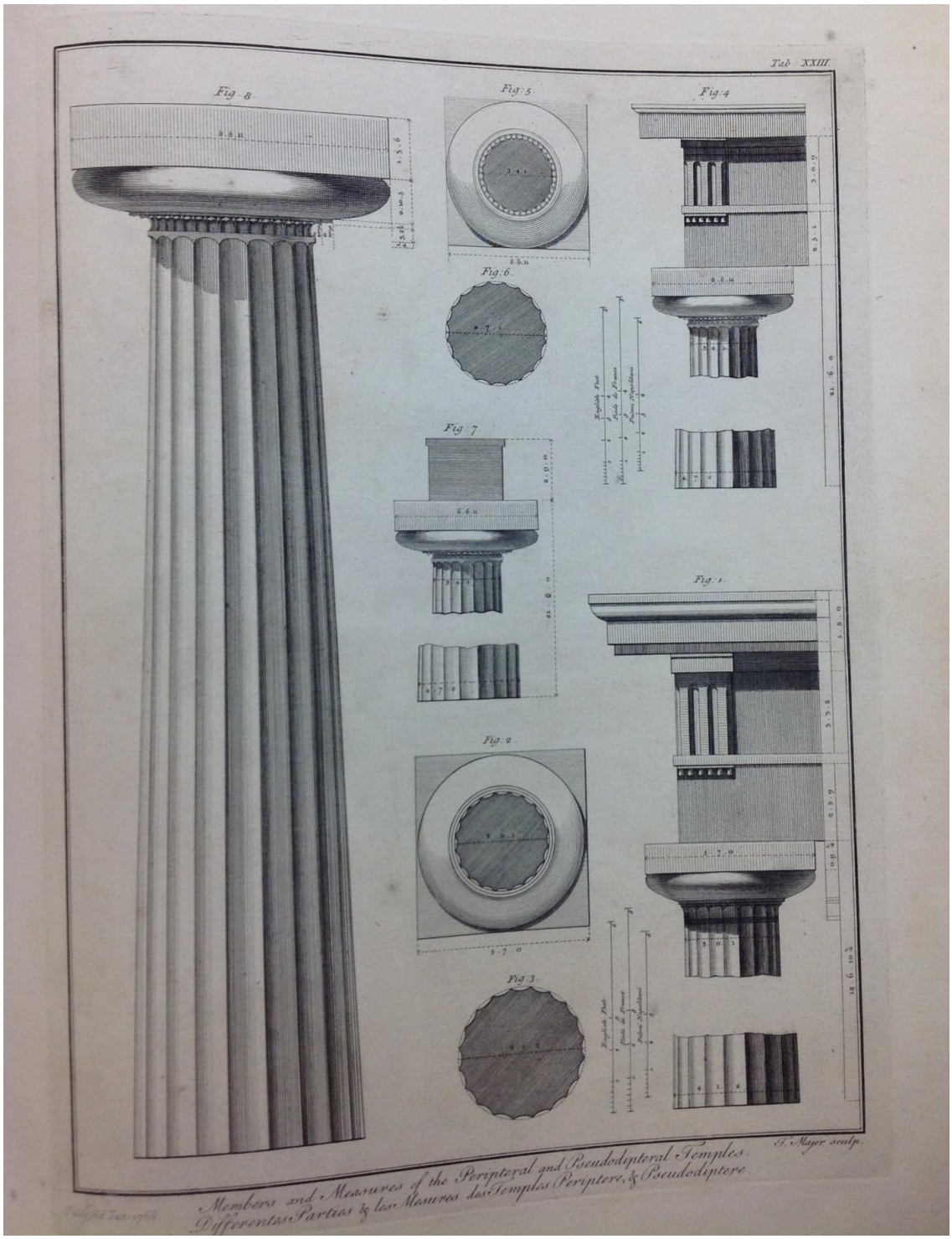

Figure 2-33, Paestum, Doric Elements from the Temples

Figure 3-1, *Frontispiece, The Works in Architecture of Robert and James Adam*, "A Student conducted to Minerva, who points to Greece and Italy, as the Countries from where he must derive the most perfect Knowledge and Taste in elegant Architecture."

Figure 3-2, Kedleston Hall, South Facade

Figure 3-3, *View of the Arch of Constantine the Great*, Giovanni Batista Piranesi

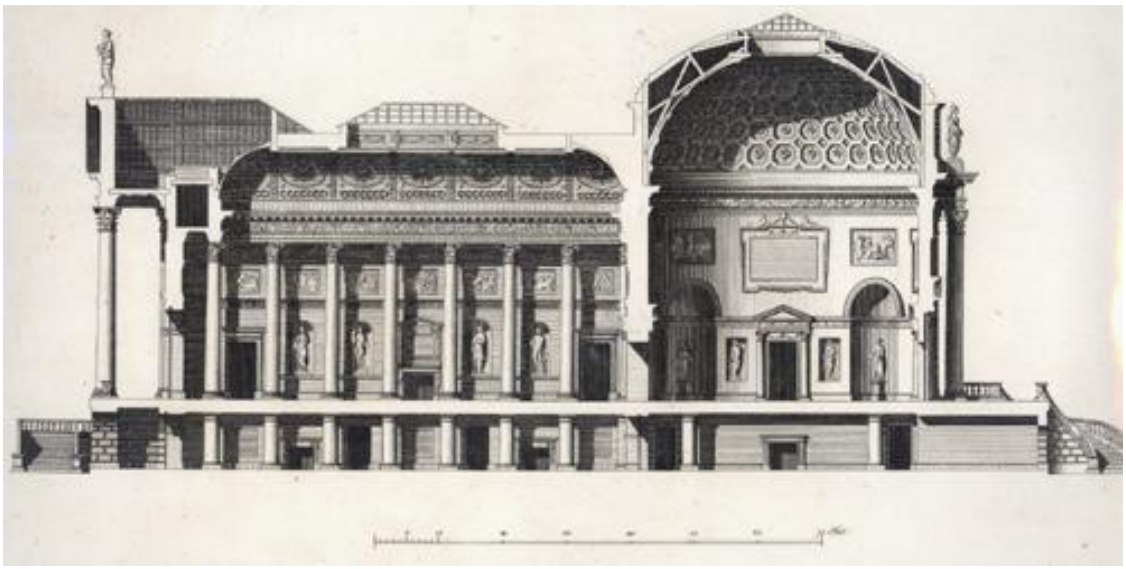

Figure 3-4, *A cross section through the Hall and Saloon of Kedleston Hall, Derbyshire.* Public domain image.

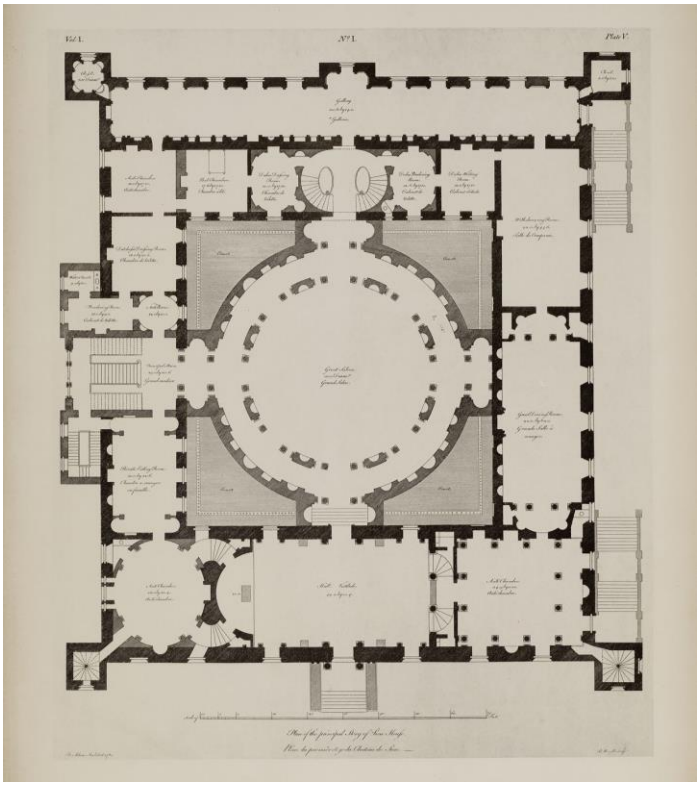

Figure 3-5, *Plan of Syon House*

Figure 3-6, *Entrance Hall, Syon House*

Figure 3-7, *Entrance Hall, Syon House*

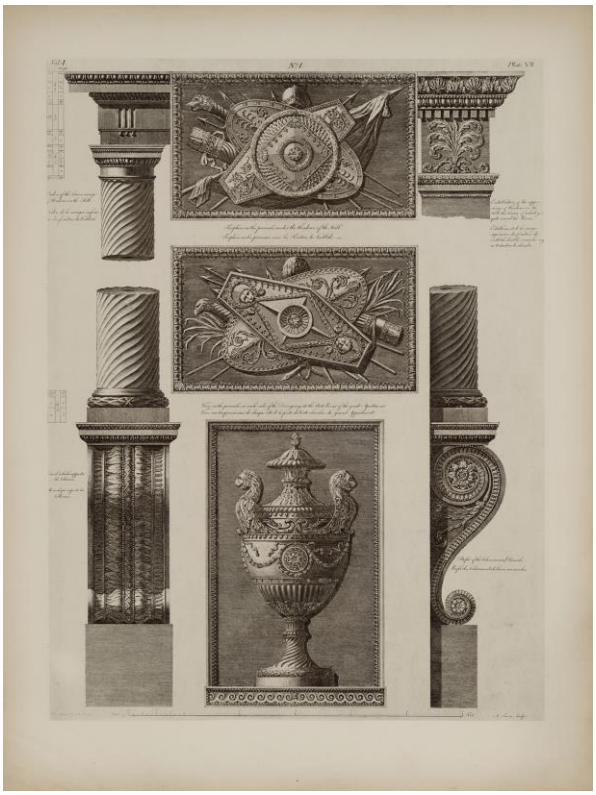

Figure 3-8, *Entrance Hall, Details*

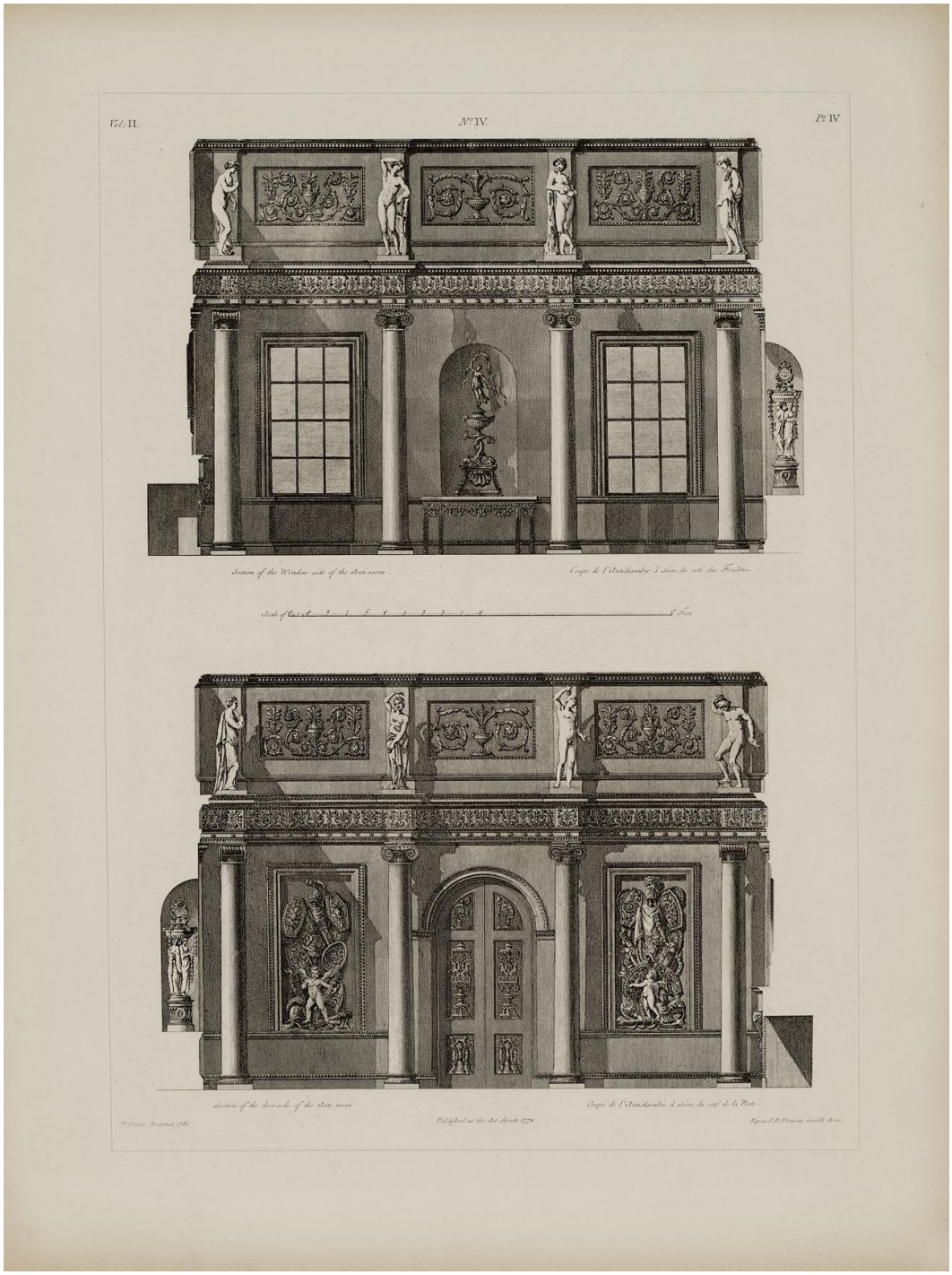

Figure 3-9, *Ante Room, Syon House*

Figure 3-10, *Long Gallery, Syon House*

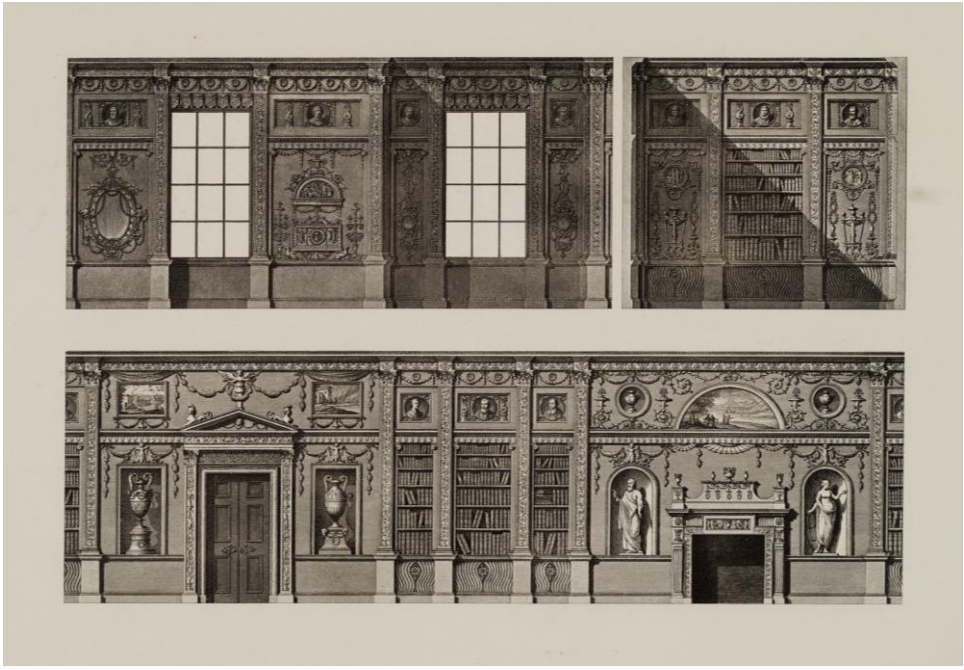

Figure 3-11, *Long Gallery, Syon House*

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Figure 3-14, Osterley Park, Portico

Figure 3-15, Osterley Park, Entrance Hall

Figure 3-16, Osterley Park, Mosaic Table, Dining Room

Figure 3-17, Osterley Park, Wall Panel, Dining Room

Figure 3-18, Osterley Park, Dining Room, Wall Panel

Figure 3-19, Osterley Park, Etruscan Door

Figure 3-20, Osterley Park, Etruscan Dressing Room

Figure 3-21, Osterley Park, Etruscan Dressing Room

Figure 3-22, Osterley Park, Ceiling Detail, Etruscan Dressing Room

Figure 3-23, Osterley Park, Ceiling Detail, Etruscan Dressing Room

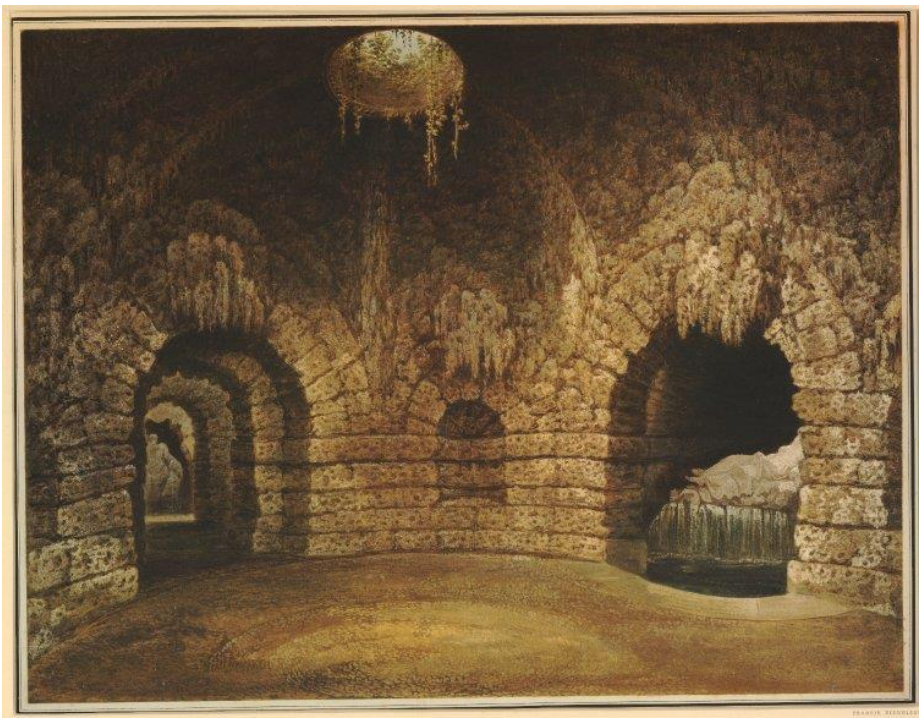

Figure 4-1, The Grotto, c. 1753. © Trustees of the British Museum

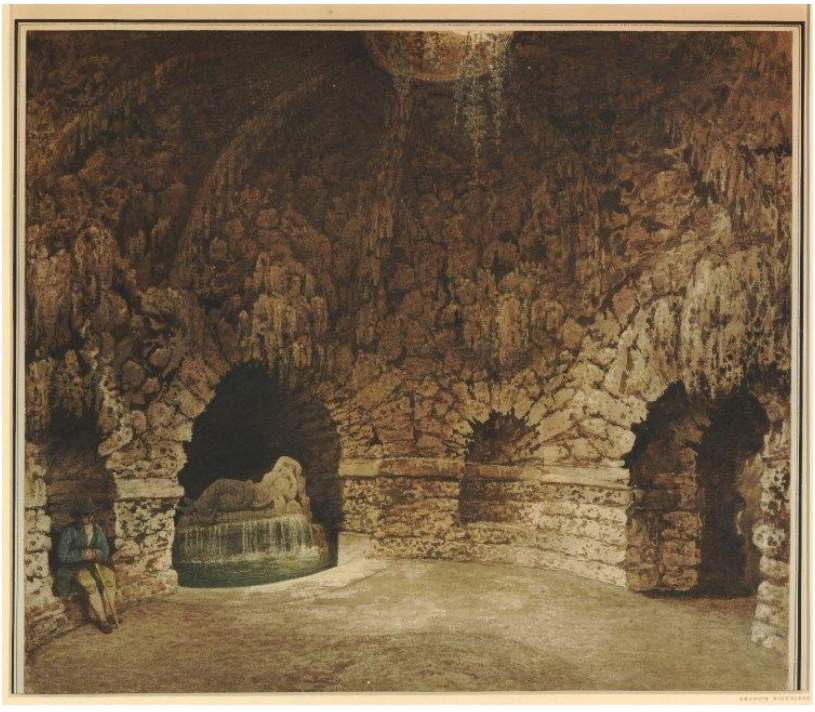

Figure 4-2, The Grotto, c. 1753. © Trustees of the British Museum

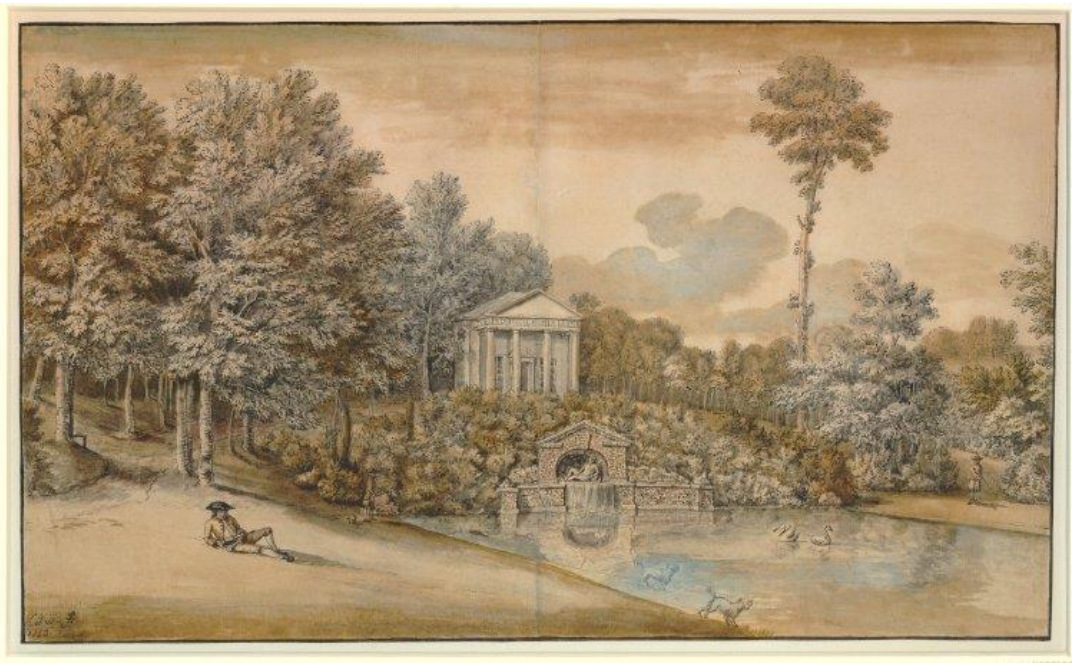

Figure 4-3, Temple of Flora, 1753 © Trustees of the British Museum

Figure 4-4, A view of Stourhead Lake, c. 1770. © Trustees of the British Museum

Figure 4-5, Lorraine, Claude, *Coast View of Delos with Aeneas*, 1672.

Figure 4-6, Stourhead Lake

4-7, Temple of Flora and false Grottos

Figure 4-8, The Pantheon. View from the upper path.

Figure 4-9, Temple of Apollo. View from the upper path.

Figure 4-10, The Grotto, Entrance

Figure 4-11, The Grotto, entrance.

Figure 4-12, The Grotto, main and secondary chambers.

Figure 4-13, The Grotto, entrance to the main chamber.

Figure 4-14, The Sleeping Nymph

Figure 4-15, Grotto, ribbed vaulting and oculus.

Figure 4-16, The Grotto, lake level window.

Figure 4-17, The Grotto, view from the main chamber.

Figure 4-18, The Grotto floor

Figure 4-19, The Cave of the River God, view from the main chamber.

Figure 4-20, The Cave of the River God

Figure 4-21, The Pantheon, or Temple of Hercules

Figure 4-22, The Pantheon

Figure 4-23, Small Grotto

Figure 4-24, “Gateway” to the Temple of Apollo

Figure 4-25, The Temple of Apollo

Figure 4-26, Temple of Apollo, View of the Pantheon

Figure 4-27, View from the Temple of Apollo

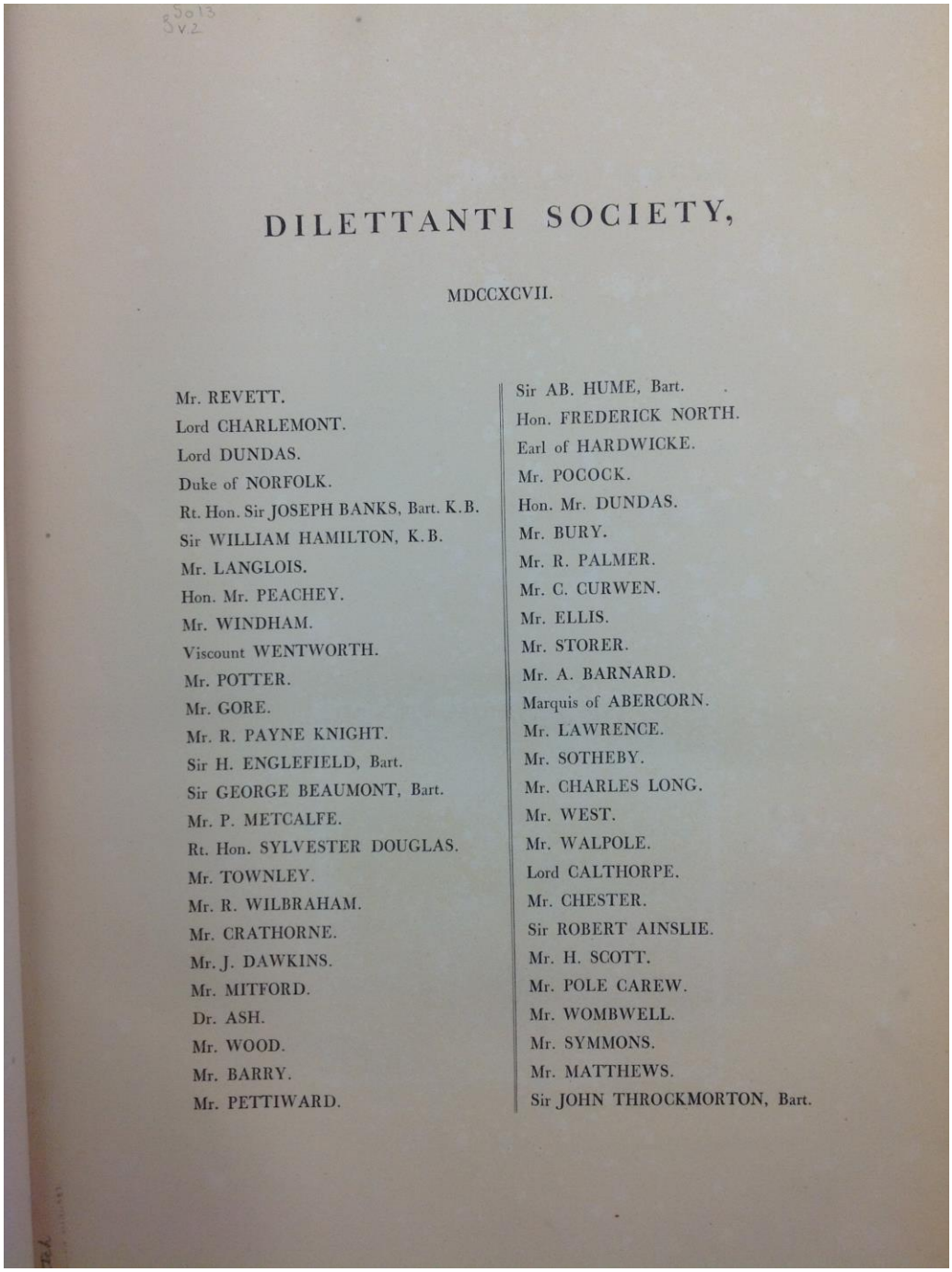

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Figure 5-1, The Society of Dilettanti in 1797, *Antiquities of Ionia*, 2nd Edition.

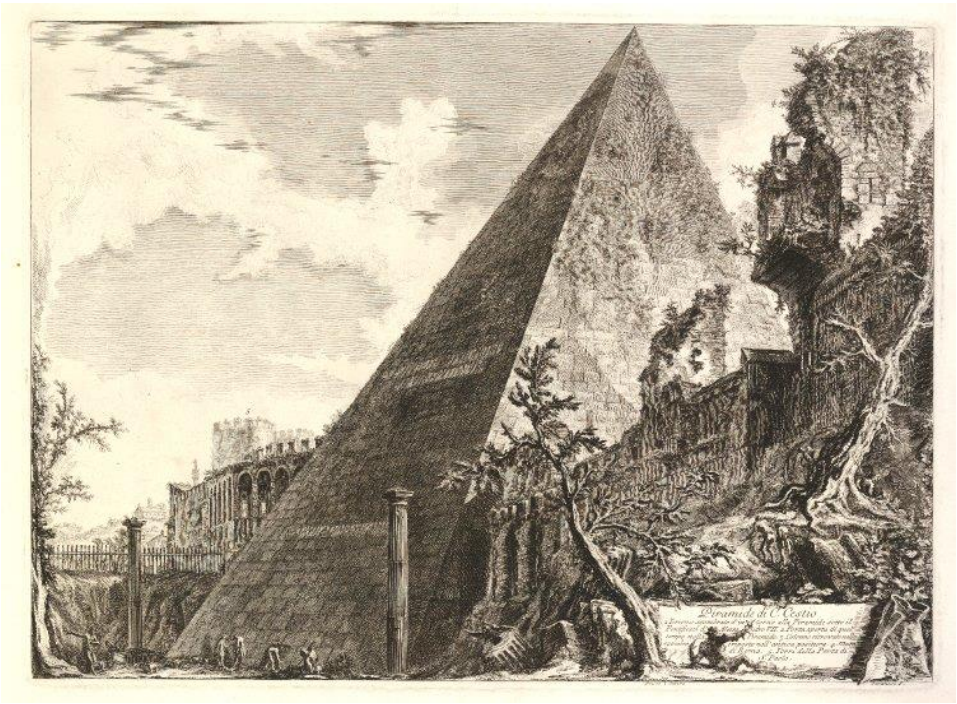

Figure 5-2, Piranesi, *Tomb of Caius Cestius*. © Trustees of the British Museum

Figure 5-3, Piranesi, *Veduta del Tempio detto della Concordia, a Arco di Settimio Severo*. © Trustees of the British Museum

Figure 5-4 *The Temple of the Four Winds, The Antiquities of Athens*.

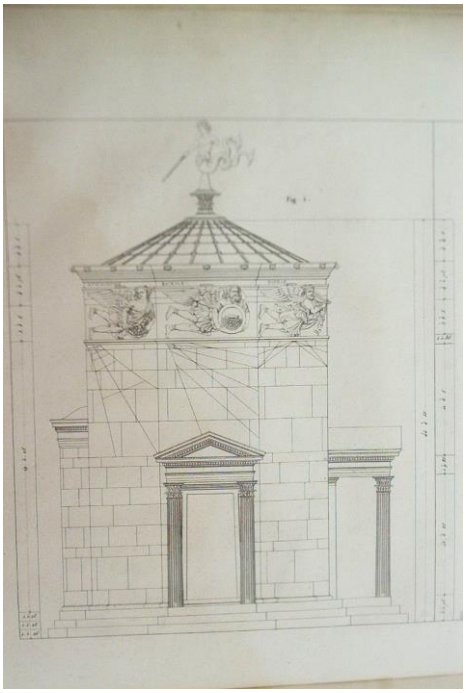

Figure 5-5, *Diagram, Temple of the Four Winds, Antiquities of Athens*.

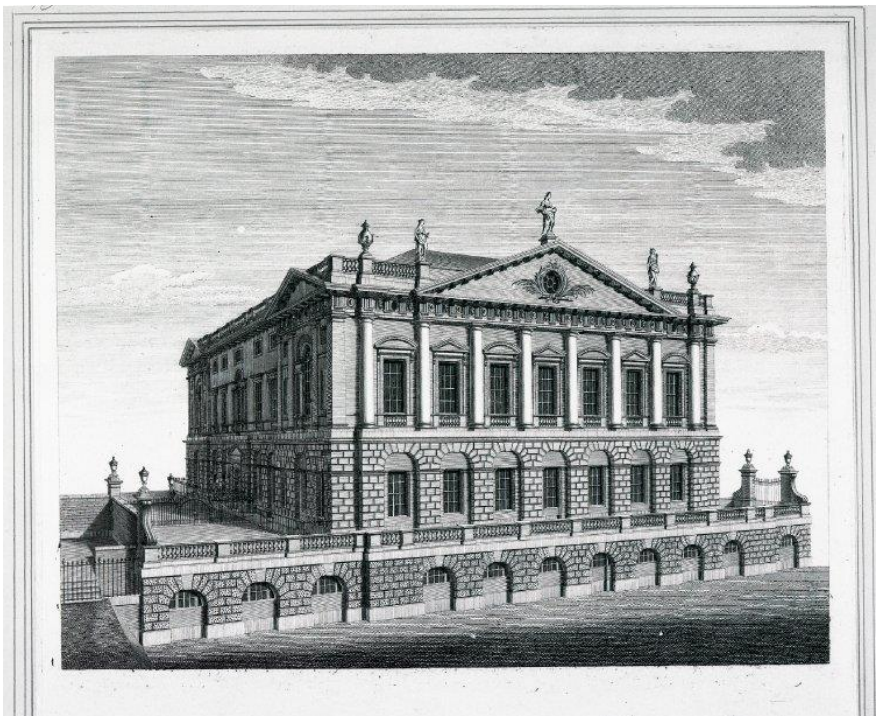

Figure 5-6, *Spencer House*. © Trustees of the British Museum

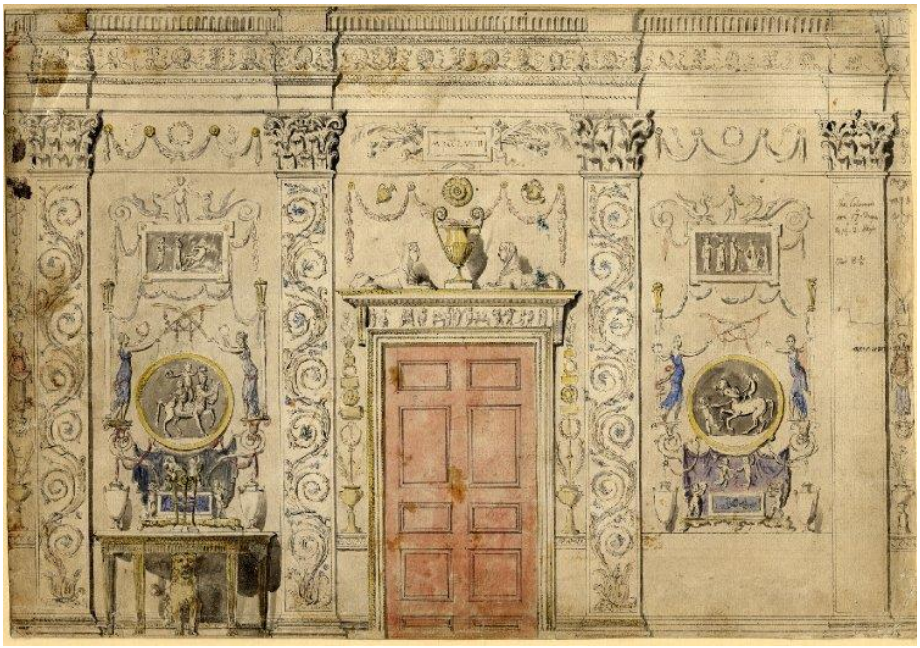

Figure 5-7, *James Stuart's design for Spencer House*. © Trustees of the British Museum

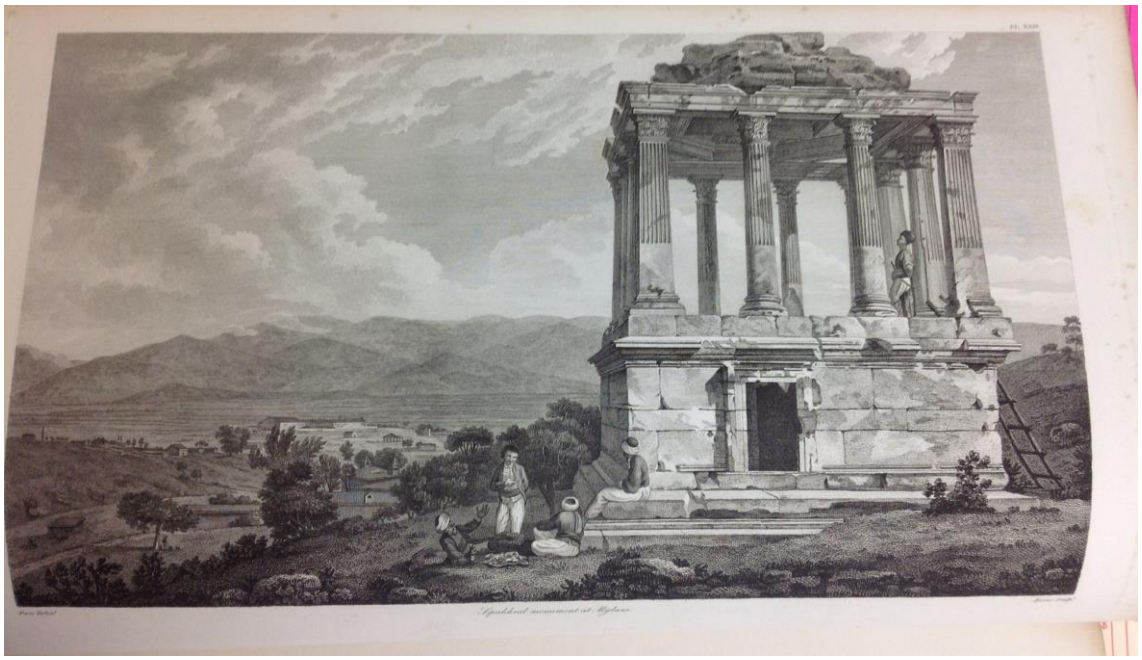

Figure 5-8, *Sepulchral Monument at Mylasa, Antiquities of Ionia*

Figure 5-9, *Theatre at Patara, Antiquities of Ionia*.

Figure 5-10, *The Adelphi*, *The Works in Architecture* of Robert and James Adam

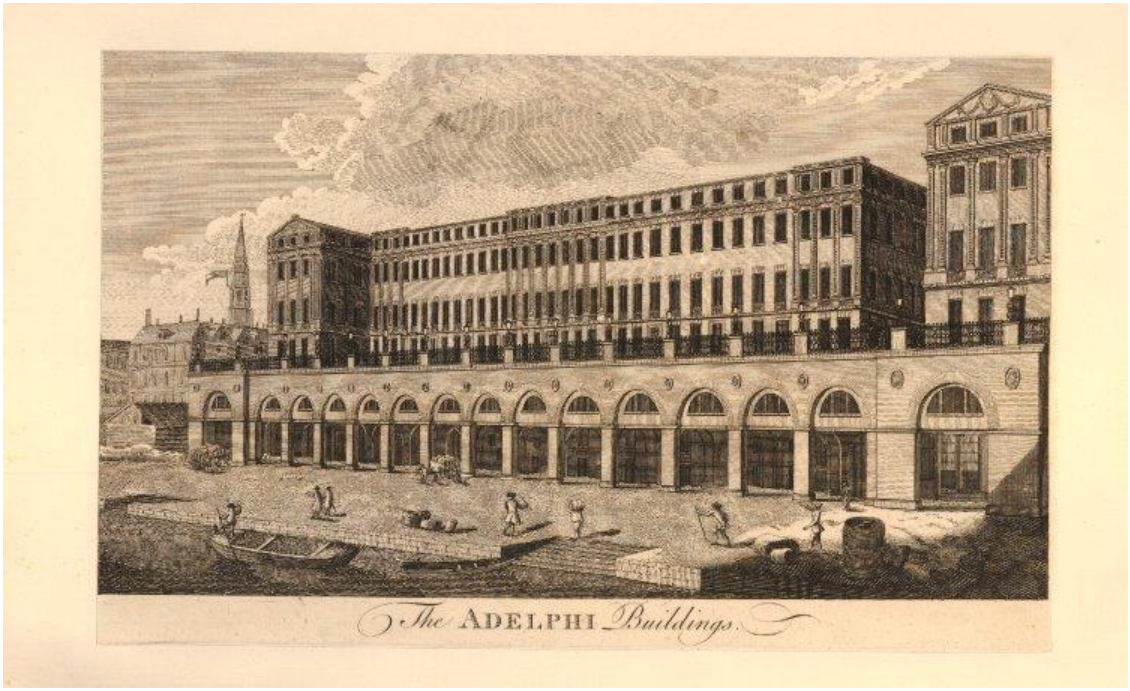

Figure 5-11, *The Adelphi*, *Newspaper Image*. © Trustees of the British Museum

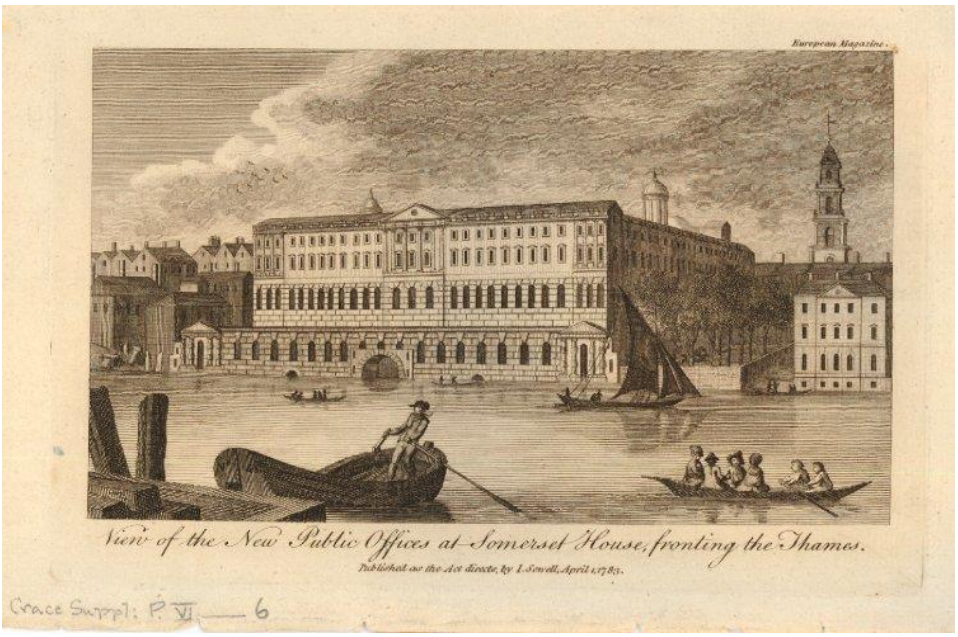

Figure 5-12, *Somerset House, 1783*. © Trustees of the British Museum

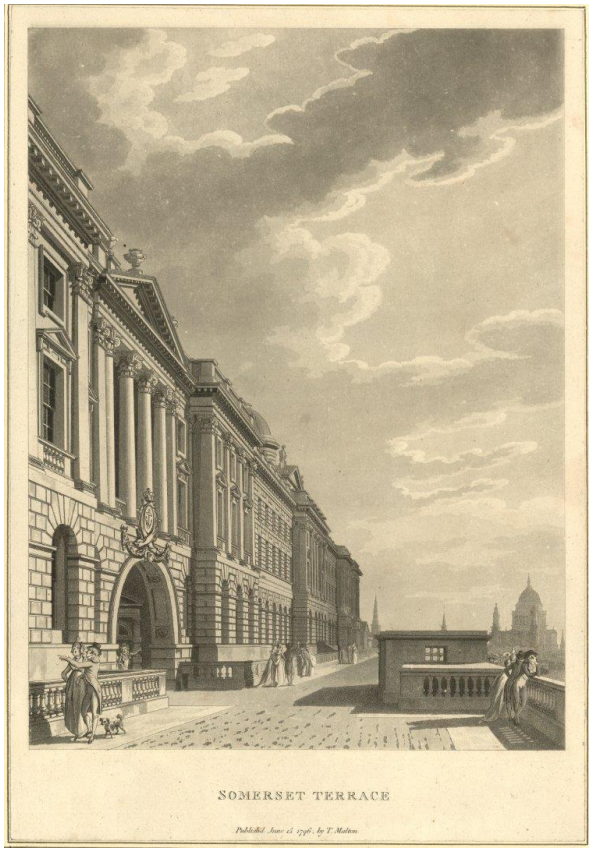

Figure 5-13, *Somerset House Terrace* © Trustees of the British Museum

Figure 5-14, *The Adelphi and Somerset House* © Trustees of the British Museum

Figure 5-15, *Sir Charles Townley's Entrance Hall*. © Trustees of the British Museum

Figure 5-16, *Sir Charles Townley's Dining Room*. © Trustees of the British Museum

Figure 5-17, Zoffani, Johann, *Charles Townley in his Sculpture Gallery*, 1782.

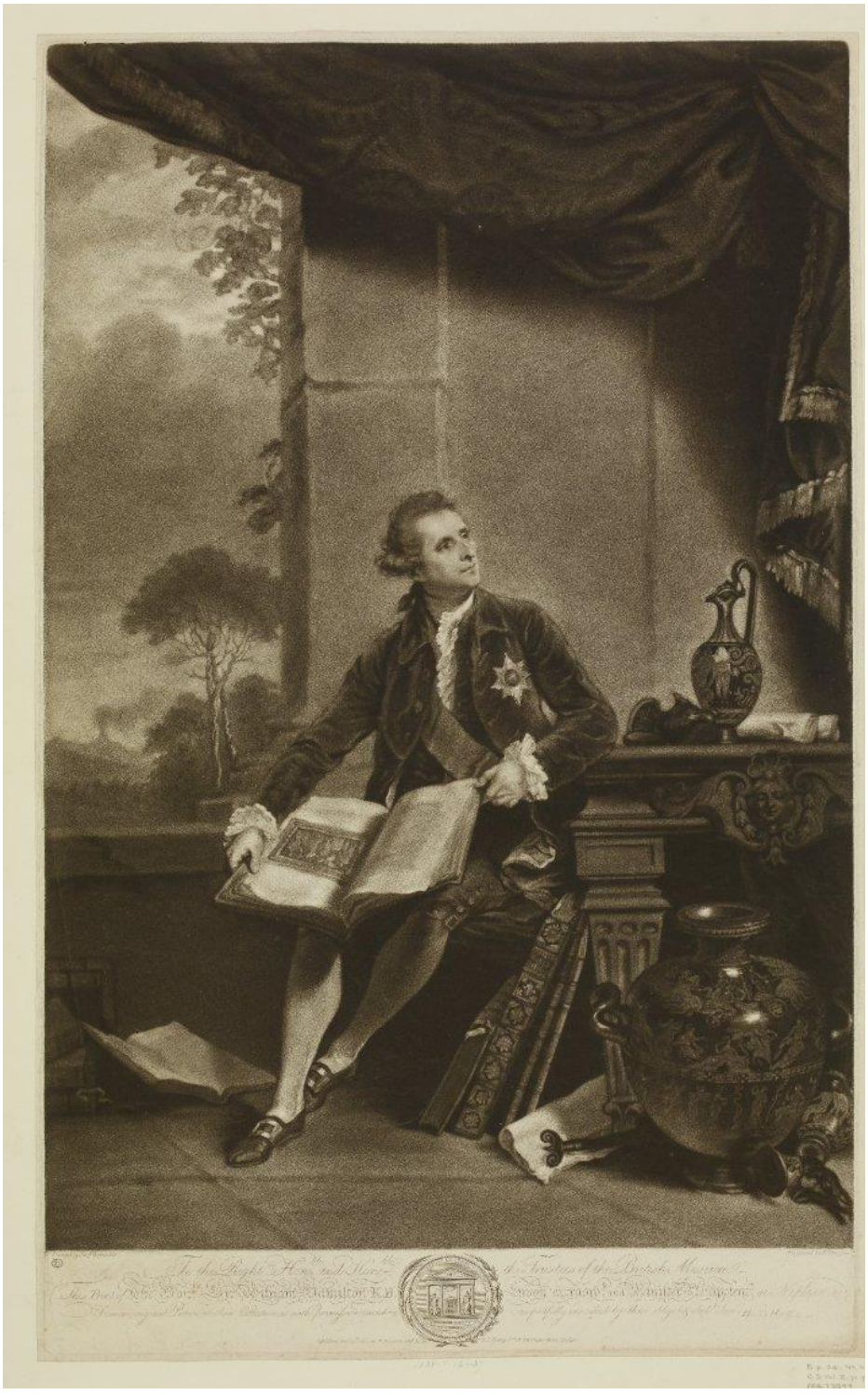

Figure 5-18, *The Hon'ble Sir William Hamilton KB, 1787*

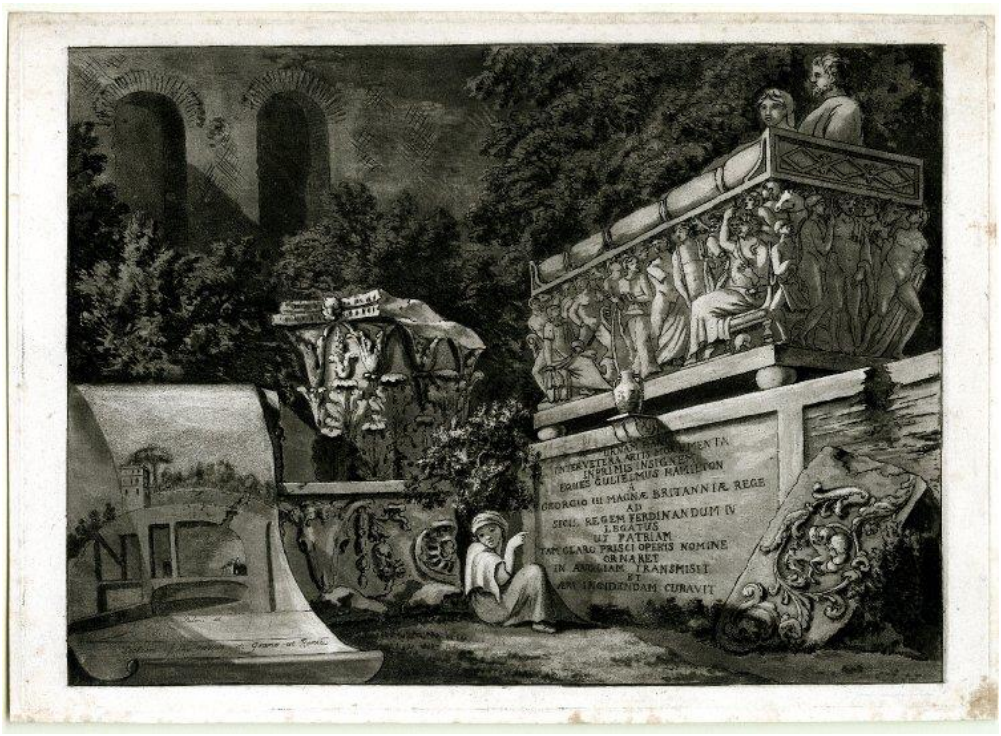

Figure 5-19, *Frontispiece, privately printed by the Hon. Charles Greville*,
© Trustees of the British Museum

Figure 5-20, Wedgewood copy of the Portland Vase, c. 1790.
© Trustees of the British Museum

Figure 5-21, *A Tomb at Nola, Naples, 1791*. © Trustees of the British Museum

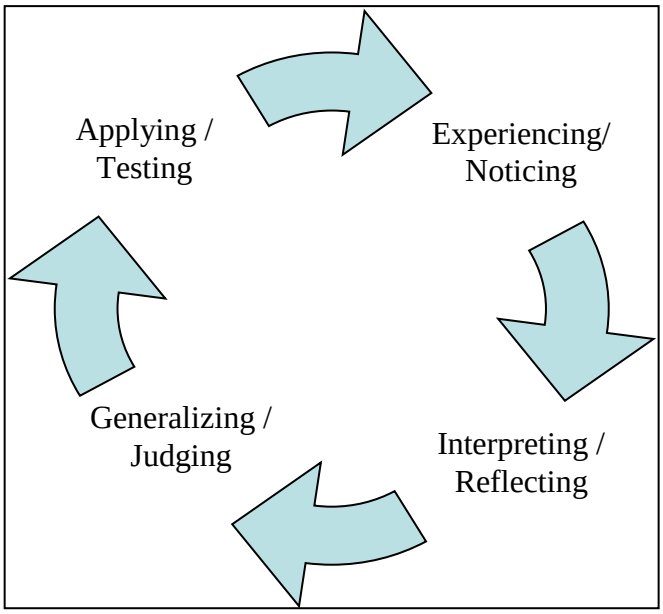

Figure 6-1, *The Experiential Learning Cycle*
After David Kolb (*Experiential Learning*, 1984)

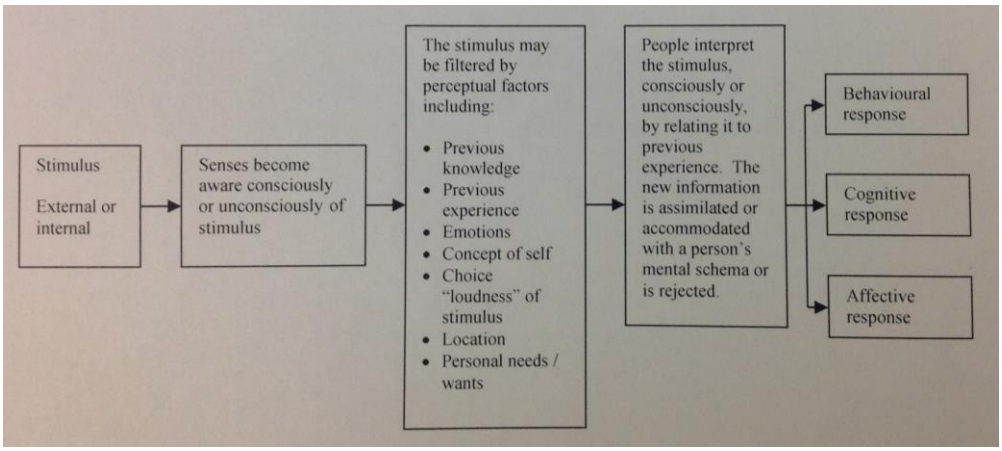

Figure 6-2, "The process of perception and experiential learning."
After Colin Beard and John P. Wilson, *Experiential Learning*, 2006.

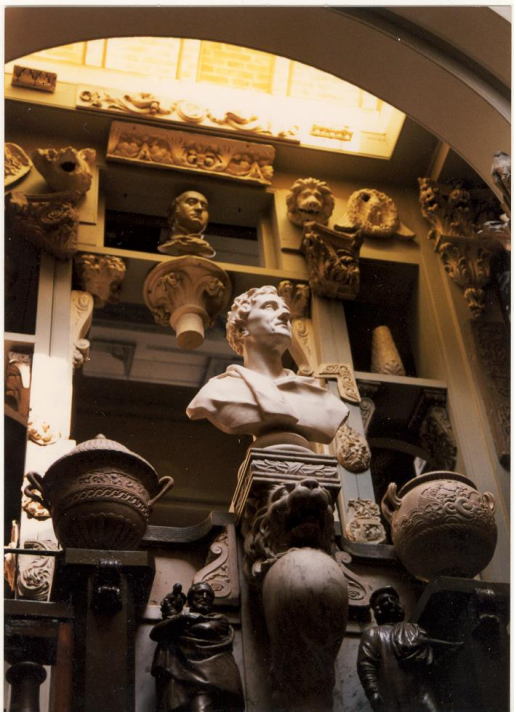

Figure 6-3, Sir John Soane's Museum, London.

Figure 6-4, Sir John Soane's Museum London.

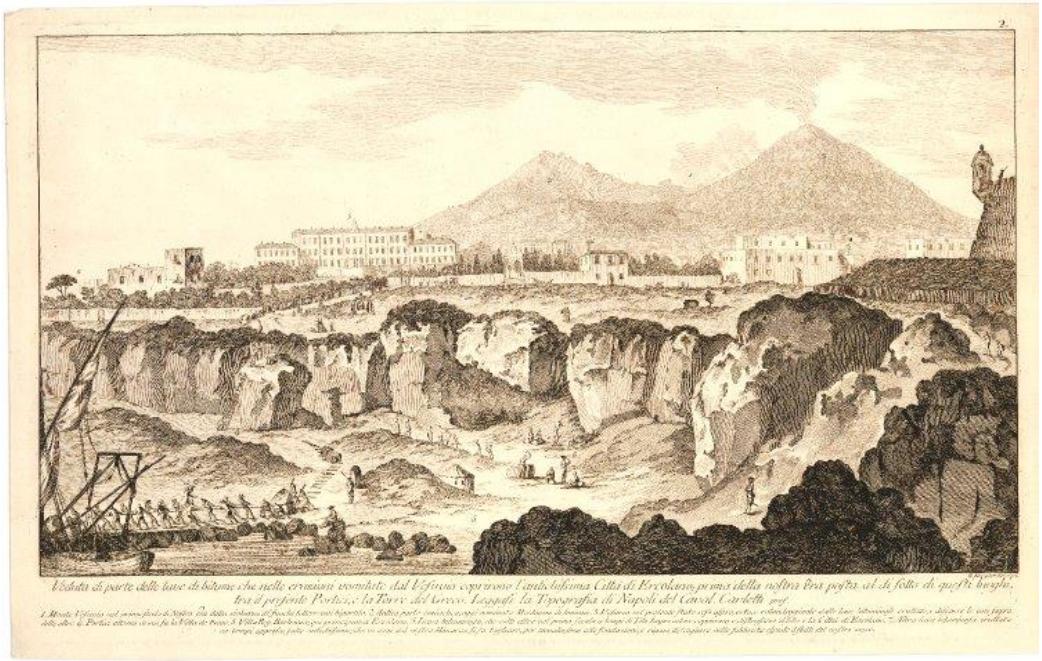

Figure 6-5, *View of the quarry at Herculaneum, 1765*. © Trustees of the British Museum

Figure 6-6, *Pompeii, Herculaneum Gate, c. 1760*.
© Trustees of the British Museum

Figure 6-7, *View of Pompeii, c. 1790*. © Trustees of the British Museum

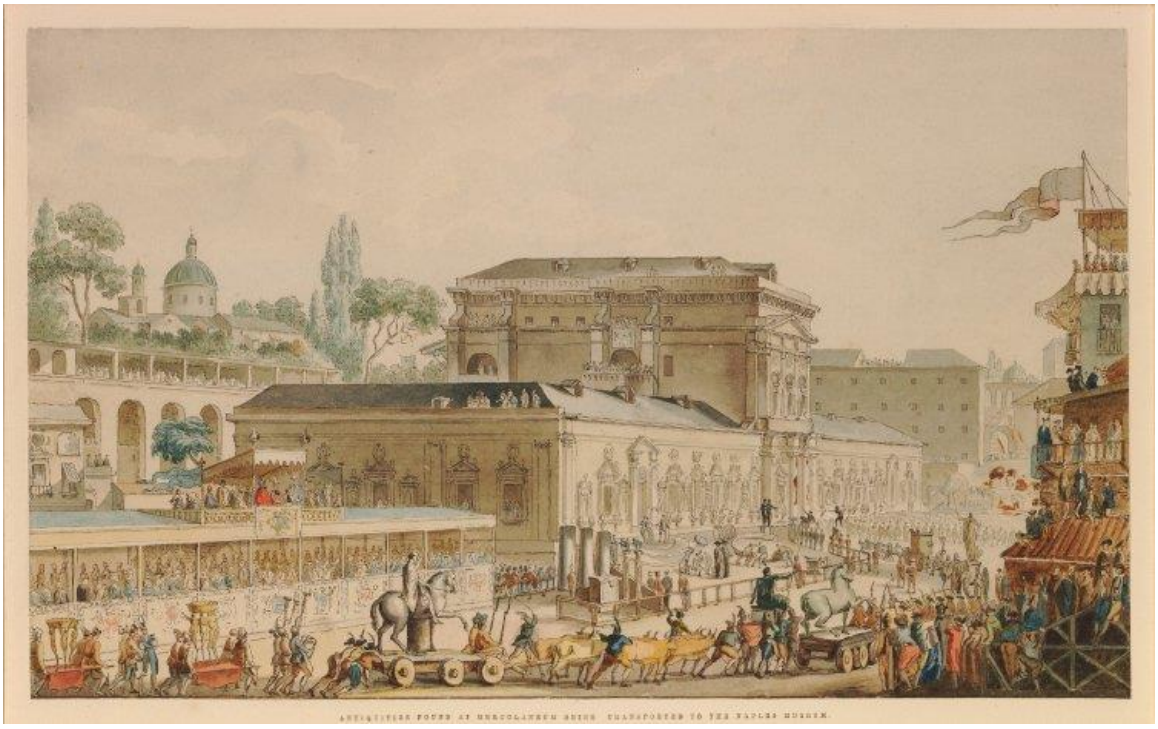

Figure 6-8, *Antiquities found at Herculaneum being transported to the Naples Museum*. © Trustees of the British Museum

Figure 6-9, *The Hall and Stair Case, British Museum, 1808*.
© Trustees of the British Museum

Figure 6-10, *The Elgin Room, British Museum, 1810*. © Trustees of the British Museum

Figure 6-11, The Elgin Marbles, British Museum, London.

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The Ruins of Palmyra and *The Ruins of Balbec* contain accounts of the journey to the sites, and the local conditions Robert Wood and James Dawkins experienced. The original spelling and place names have been preserved.

Excerpt from *The Ruins of Palmyra*, pages 33 – 35.

A Journey Through The Desart

Our journey to Palmyra was that part of our tour through the East, in which we expected to meet with the greatest difficulties, as it was much out of the common road, and where the protection of the Grand Signor could do us no service.

Aleppo and Damascus seemed to be the places where we might most effectually consult our case and safety in this undertaking. Having unsuccessfully attempted to make the first of those cities our road, we left our ship at Byroot on the coast of Syria, and crossed Mount Libanus to Damascus.

The Bashaw of this city told us, he could not promise that his name, or power, would be any security to us in the place to which we were going. From what he said, and from all the informations that we could get, we found it necessary to go to Hassia, a village four days journey north from Damascus, and the residence of an Aga, whose jurisdiction extends as far as Palmyra.

Since we propose this work merely as an account of the ruins of Palmyra, and not of our travels, we shall here only premise such a short sketch of our passage through the Desart, as may give a general idea of our manner of travelling in a country, which no body has described.

Hassia is a small village upon the great caravan-road, from Damascus to Aleppo, situated near Antilibanus, and at a few hours difference from the Orontes. The Aga received us with that hospitality, which is so common among all ranks of people in those countries; and through extremely surprised at our curiosity, he gave us instructions how to satisfy it in the best manner.

We set out from Hassia the 11th of March 1751, with an escort of the Aga's best Arab horsemen, armed with guns and long pikes, and travelled in four hours to Sudud, through a barren plain, scarce affording a little browsing to antilopes, of which we saw a great number. Our course was a point to the south of the east.

Sudud is a poor small village, inhabited by Maronite Christians; its houses are built of no better materials than mud dried in the sun. They cultivate as much ground

about the village as is necessary for their bare subsistence, and make a good red wine. We bought a few manuscripts of their priest, and proceeded after dinner through the same sort of county, in a direction half a point more to the south, to a Turkish village called Howareen (where we lay) three hours from Sudud.

Howareen has the same appearance of poverty as Sudud. But we found a few ruins there, which shew it to have been formerly a more considerable place. A square tower, with projecting battlements for defense, looks like a work of three or four hundred years; and two ruined churches may be of the same age, though part of the materials, aukwardly employed in those buildings, are much older. In their walls are some corinthian capitals, and several large attick bases of white marble. Those and some other scattered fragments of antiquity, which we saw here, have belonged to works of more expence than taste. We remarked a village near this entirely abandoned by its inhabitants, which happens often in those countries, where the lands have acquired value from cultivation, and are often deserted, to avoid oppression.

We set out from Howareen the 12th, and in three hours arrived at Carietein, keeping the same direction. This village differs from the former, only by being a little larger. It has also some broken pieces of marble, which belonged to antient buildings, as some shafts of columns, a few corinthian capitals, a dorick base, and two imperfect Greek inscriptions. It was thought proper we should stay here this day, as well to collect the rest of our escort, which the Aga had ordered to attend us, as to prepare our people and cattle for the fatigue of the remaining part of our journey, which, though we could not perform it in less time than twenty four hours, could not be divided into stages, as there is no water in that part of the desart.

We left Carietein, the 13th, about ten o'clock, which was much too late: but as our body became more numerous, it was less governable. This bad management exposed us to the heat of two days, before our cattle could get either water or rest; and though so early in the season, yet the reflection of the sun from the sand was very powerful, and we had not the relief of either breeze or shade during the whole journey.

Our caravan was now encreased to about two hundred persons, and about the same number of beasts for carriage, consisting of an odd mixture of horses, camels, mules and asses. Our guide told us, this part of our journey was most dangerous, and desired we might submit ourselves entirely to his direction, which was, that the servants should keep with the baggage immediately behind our Arab guard; from which one, two, or more of their body were frequently dispatched, for discovery, to what eminences they could see, where they remained until we came up. Those horsemen always rode off from the caravan at full speed, in the Tartar and Hussar manner. We doubted whether all this precaution was owing to their being really apprehensive of danger, or whether they only affected to make us think highly of their use and vigilance. Our course from Carietein to Palmyra, was a little east of the north, through a flat sandy plain (without either tree or

water the whole way) about ten miles broad, and bounded to our right and left by a ridge of barren hills, which seemed to join about two miles before we arrived at Palmyra.

The tiresome sameness, both of our road and manner of travelling, was now and then a little relieved by our Arab horsemen, who engaged in mock fights with each other for our entertainment, and shewed a surprising firmness of seat, and dexterity in the management of their horses. When the business of the day was over, coffee and a pipe of tobacco made their highest luxury, and while they indulged in this, sitting in a circle, one of the company entertained the rest with a song or story, the subject love, or war, and the composition sometimes extemporary.

In nine hours from Carietein we came to a ruined tower, on which we observed, in two or three places, the Maltese cross. Near it are the ruins of a very rich building, as appeared by a white marble door-case, which is the only part standing and not covered with sand: its proportions and ornaments are exactly the same with those of plate XLVIII. At midnight we stopt two hours for refreshment, and the fourteenth about noon we arrived at the end of the plain, where the hills to our right and left seemed to meet. We found between those hills a vale through which an aqueduct (now ruined) formerly conveyed water to Palmyra.

In this vale, to our right and left, were several square towers of a considerable height, which upon a nearer approach we found were the same sepulchers of the antient Palmyrenes. We had scarce passed these venerable monuments, when the hills opening discovered to us, all at once, the greatest quantity of ruins we had ever seen, all of white marble, and beyond them towards the Euphrates a flat waste, as far as the eye could reach, without any object which shewed either life or motion. It is scarce possible to imagine anything more striking than this view: So great a number of Corinthian pillars, mixed with so little wall or solid building, afforded a most romantic variety of prospect. But the following plate [Figures 2-1 and 2-2] will convey a juster idea of it than any description.

In the following work we not only give the measures of the architecture, but also the views of the ruins from which they are taken, as the most distinct, as well as the most satisfactory method. For as the first gives us an idea of the building, when it was entire, so the last shews its present state of decay, and (which is most important) what authority there is four our measures.

Excerpt from *The Ruins of Balbec*, pages 1 – 4.

Journey from Palmyra to Balbec

…Having observed that descriptions of ruins, without accurate drawings, seldom preserve more of their subject than it's confusion, we shall, as in the Ruins of Palmyra,

refer our reader almost entirely to the plates; where his information will be more full and circumstantial, as well as less tedious and confused, than could be conveyed by the happiest precision of language. It shall also, in this, as in the former volume, be our principal care to produce things as we found them, leaving reflections and reasonings upon them to others.

This last rule we shall scrupulously observe in describing the Buildings; where all criticism on the beauties and faults of the Architecture is left entirely to the reader. If in this preliminary discourse we intermix a few observations of our own, not so necessarily connected with the subject, it is with a view to throw a little variety into a very dry collection of facts, from which at any rate we can not promise much entertainment.

Before we had quite finished our business at Palmyra our Arabian Escort began to solicit our departure with some impatience: our safety in returning was, they said, more precarious than in our journey thither; because they had then only accidental dangers to apprehend, whereas they were not to guard against a premeditated surprize from the King of the Bedouins, or wandering Arabs, who might have had intelligence of us, and think us a prize worth looking after. We had also our own reasons for more than ordinary solicitude; as we were much more anxious about preserving the treasure we brought from Palmyra than that which we carried thither.

Having therefore, by their advice, concealed our intended road back, as well as the time we proposed to set out, we left Palmyra March 27th 1751; the few miserable inhabitants of that place expressing the utmost astonishment at a visit of which they could not comprehend the meaning.

We returned by the same tiresome road through the Desart, which we have already described in our journey to Palmyra, as far as Sudud; without any alarm except one, which is worth mentioning only as it relates to the manners of the country.

About four hours before our arrival at Carietein we discovered a party of Arabian horsemen at a distance, to which, had they been superior in number, we must have fallen an easy prey, in the languid state to which both our men and horses were reduced, by a march of above twenty hours over the burning sands: but upon our nearer approach they began to retire precipitately, and abandoned some cattle, which our friends seized, as a matter of course, laughing at our remonstrances against their injustice.

At Sudud we left our former road on the right hand, and in five hours, still through the same Desart, arrived at Cara, were we took leave of the greatest part of our Caravan. We sent the manuscripts and marbles, which we had collected, on camels to our ship at Tripoli; the merchants who had joined us for protection returned to Damascus with the salt they went to gather at Palmyra; and our Arabian horsemen, now no longer of use, returned to their master the Aga of Hassia, having demanded a certificate of their vigilance and fidelity, which indeed they justly deserved.

Cara, a village on the great Caravan-road from Damascus to Aleppo, contains, as we were informed, near a thousand souls, and amongst them about twenty Christian families. We had passed through it before in going from Damascus to Hassia, from the left of which it is distant about six hours, and under the government of the same Aga. There is one ruined Church to be seen here, and another converted into a Mosque: upon the wall of the latter is a line of Greek, in a bad character, turned upside down, in which we could read the words ΑΘΑΝΑΣΙΟΣ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΣ.

This village is pleasantly situated on a rising ground. The common mud, formed into the sape of bricks and dried in the sun, of which it's houses are built, has at some distance the appearance of white stone. The short duration of such materials is not the only objection to them; for they make the streets dusty when there is wind, and dirty when there is rain. These inconveniences are felt at Damascus, which is mostly built in the same manner.

After near a month's constant fatigue in the Desart, particularly at Palmyra, where every hour was precious, we indulged ourselves here with a day of rest. Security and repose, succeeding to danger and toil, soon gave both us and our people that comforting refreshment, which was so necessary to prepare us for new fatigue.

We therefore set out for Balbec March 31st and arrived at Ersale in seven hours. The greatest part of this journey was across the barren ridge of hills called Antilibanus: our road was tolerably good, and our course in a little to the Southward of the West.

This village, consisting of about thirty poor houses, was the only one we passed through in our road from Cara to Balbec. We found nothing in it worth remarking, except a melancholy instance of the unhappy government of this country: the houses were all open, every thing carried off, and not a living creature to be seen. We had heard that the governour of Balbec's brother was then in open rebellion, ravaging the country with a party of his desperate associates, and it seems that when we passed through Ersale he was encamped in it's neighborhood, which made the inhabitants choose to abandon their dwellings, rather than expose themselves to such unmerciful contributions as he had raised in other places.

We could not avoid staying here all night; but, impatient to leave a place of so much danger, we set out early the next morning, and in five hours and a half arrived at Balbec, our course turning still more southerly, our road tolerably good, less mountainous and barren, for the last two hours, when the plan of Bocat began to open to us, discovering on it's opposite side the famed mount Libanus, whose top is always covered with snow.

This city, formerly under the government of Damascus, and a few years since the residence of a Basha, is now commanded by a person of no higher rank than that of Aga, who, preferring the more honourable title of Emir, which he had by birth, to that of his station, was called Emir Hassein. The Arabs have hereditary nobility and family

connections, contrary to the policy of the Porte, which is desirous of suppressing all influence that the Sovereign can not give and take away at his pleasure.

Emir Hassein paid the Grand Signor fifty purses annually, for the taxes of the district he commanded: he also paid fifty purses yearly for lands, granted in this country as rewards for military service, and farmed by him. We were told that those lands were much more profitable to him than to the persons for whose benefit the grant was originally intended: the reason of which is, that it would be inconvenient, and even dangerous, for any man to pretend to the same farm against so powerful a competitor. He should also have paid something to the Basha of Damascus, for lands which he held under him; but had contrived for some time to evade it, screened by the protection of the Kiflar Aga, to whom he was said to be under private contribution. This reason the Basha of Damascus gave us for refusing us letters to Balbec, which he civilly granted to all other places where they could be of service.

Having taken up our lodging with a Greek, to whom we were recommended, we waited upon the Emir, and found him in a Chiosque in his garden, reclined upon a Sopha near a fountain, and indolently enjoying his pipe. We presented him with our Firman from the Grand Signor, and a letter from the Basha of Tripoli, and were most courteously received. A pipe, coffee, sweetmeats, and perfume are successively presented on these occasions, and the last is always understood as a hint to finish the visit. He applied the Firman respectfully to his forehead, and then kissed it, declaring himself the Sultan's slave's slave; told us that the land he commanded, and all in it, was ours; that were his welcome guests as long as we would stay, and might securely pursue our business under his friendly protection.

No part of oriental manners shews those people in so amiable a light as their discharge of the duties of hospitality: indeed the severities of Eastern despotism have ever been softened by this virtue, which so happily flourishes most where it is most wanted. The great forget the insolence of power to the stranger under their roof, and only preserve a dignity, so tempered by tenderness and humanity, that it commands no more than that grateful respect, which is otherwise scarce known in a country where inferiours are so much oftener taught to fear than to love.

We had been advised to distrust the Emir, whose character was infamous, and soon had occasion to see how friendly that caution was. Though we had sent our presents according to the custom of the country, yet new demands were every day made, which for some time we thought it adviseable to satisfy; they were so frequently, and at last so insolently repeated, that it became necessary to give a peremptory refusal.

Avarice is no doubt as much an Eastern vice as hospitality is an Eastern virtue; but we must observe that we found the most sordid instances of the former in men of power and publick employment, while we experienced much generosity in private retired life: we are therefore cautious of charging to the character of a people what the nature of

their government seems to require. For in the uninterrupted series of shameless venality, which regulates the discharge of every publick duty, from the Prime Vizir downwards, and which, in the true spirit of despotism, stops only at the wretch who is too low to make reprisals, every subaltern in power must submit to that portion of the common prostitution which belongs to his rank, and which seems therefore the vice of the office rather than of the man.

Frequent negociations produced by this quarrel, in which the Emir unsuccessfully exerted all his art and villainy, ended in an open declaration, on his, side, that we should be attacked and cut into pieces in our way from Balbec. When he heard that those menaces had not the effect he expected, and that we were prepared to set out with about twenty armed servants, he sent us a civil message, desiring that we might interchange presents and part friends, and allow his people to guard us as far as mount Libanus; to which we agreed. Not long after this he was assassinated by an emissary of that rebellious brother whom we have mentioned, and who succeeded him in the government of Balbec.

The Ruins of Palmyra also contains a history of Palmyra and Queen Zenobia:

Excerpt from *The Ruins of Palmyra*, pages 1 – 21.

An Enquiry into the Antient State of Palmyra

Our account of Palmyra is confined merely to that state of decay in which we found those ruins in the year 1751. It is not probable that the reader's curiosity should stop here: The present remains of that city are certainly too interesting to admit of our indifference about what it has been; when and by whom it was built; the singularity of its situation (separated from the rest of mankind by an uninhabitable desart,) and the source of riches necessary to the support of such magnificence, are subjects which very naturally engage our attention. The following Enquiry is an attempt, in some measure, to satisfy that curiosity.

It seems very remarkable, that Balbeck and Palmyra, perhaps the two most surprising remains of antient magnificence which are now left, should be so much neglected in history, that, except what we can learn from the inscriptions, all our information about them, would scarce amount to more than probable conjecture.

Does not even this silence of history, carry with instruction, and teach us how much we are in the dark with regard to some periods of antiquity?

It is the natural and common fate of cities to have their memory longer preserved than their ruins. Troy, Babylon and Memphis are now known only from books, while

there is not a stone left to mark their situation. But here we have two instances of considerable towns out-living any account of them. Our curiosity about these places is rather raised by what we see than what we read, and Balbeck and Palmyra are in a great measure left to tell their own story.

Shall we attribute this to the loss of books, or conclude that the Antients did not think those buildings so much worth notice as we do? If we can suppose the latter, it seems to justify our admiration of their works. Their silence about Balbeck, gives authority to what they say of Babylon, and the works of Palmyra scarce mentioned, become vouchers for those so much celebrated of Greece and Egypt.

Any authorities I can collect from the Antients, immediately relation to Palmyra, might be thrown in to a very small compass; but as persons of more leisure may, if they think it worth while, enlarge and correct these hints, I shall not only produce such materials as I have met with, but also give the historical order in which I searched for them, by taking a short view of the most remarkable revolutions Syria, from the earliest account of this place, which may at least be of some use towards a more diligent and accurate enquiry.

To what information history affords I shall add what may be gathered from the taste of Architecture, and from the inscriptions.

The Arabick translator of Chronicles makes Palmyra older than Solomon; John of Antioch surnamed Malala says that he built it on the spot where David slew Goliah, in memory of that action; and Abul Farai mentions in what year, with other particularities.

But these and other accounts of the early state of Palmyra, which might be collected from the Arabian historians, bear such evident marks of fable and wild conjecture, that we shall pass them over, and come to the earliest historical authority which deserves to be quoted as such.

That Solomon built Tedmor in the wilderness we are told in the Old testament; and that this was same city which city which the Greeks and Romans called afterwards Palmyra, tho' the Syrians retained the first name, we learn from Josephus. We may add the authority of St. Jerom, who (if the vulgar latin version he his) thinks Tedmor and Palmyra are only the Syrian and Greek names of the same place.

What seems to strengthen this opinion is, that at this present time the Arabs of the country call it Tedmor, and we follow their pronunciation as the best authority for this way of writing that name.

Ammianus Marcellinus takes notice of the attachment of the natives of Syria to the old names of their cities, which they kept up notwithstanding the Greek ones given by Seleucus Nicator, when rebuilt them. And there are now several instances in that country

of the old name of a place preserved by the Arabs, while the Greek one is from long disuse forgot and unknown in the country. Thus the Acco of the Old testament in the tribe of Asher, was called by the Greeks Ptolemais, but now by the inhabitants Acca, the original name only altered in one letter; and Haran where Abraham dwelt before he set out for the Land of promise, was afterwards the Carrhae of the Romans; but has again recovered it first name, Haran.

It seems natural for people to have this affection for the names their towns bore during their state of freedom and prosperity; and an unwillingness to admit innovations imposed by conquest is observable in all countries, but no where more than among the Arabs, who, notwithstanding the frequent attempts made upon them, boast a longer independence and a purer antiquity than any other nation.

But that these ruins which we visited were the works of Solomon, we only offer as the established opinion of the present inhabitants of Palmyra, who, perfectly satisfied of the truth of it, add several curious anecdotes, and point out his seraglio, his harem, the tomb of a favourite concubine, with several other particulars: "All these mighty things, say they, Solomon the son of 'David did by the assistance of spirits.'"

Whatever buildings then Solomon may have erected here, we shall suppose to have perished long since, even tho' we had not the authority of John of Antioch to support us, who affirms that Nebuchadnezzar destroyed this city before he besieged Jerusalem.

Buildings in the taste of those of Palmyra cannot reasonably be supposed prior to the time the Greeks got footing in Syria; and therefore it is not surprizing that we find nothing of that city in accounts of the Babylonian and Persian conquest of this country; nor that Xenophon should take no notice of it in his Retreat of the ten-thousand, tho' he gives a very accurate account of the Desart, and must have left this place not a great way to the right in his march towards Babylon.

Nor could one for the same reason expect more from the accounts of Alexander the great than what use he, or his enemies might have made of such a situation, when he marched through this Desart to Thaptacus on the Euphrates, which was the place where he, as well as Darius and Cyrus the Younger, passed that River.

From the death of Alexander to the reduction of Syria to a Roman province would seem a more proper period for the enquiring about Palmyra. Seleucus Nicator was a great builder, and tho' the ruins of Antioch on the Orontes and Seleucia, at the mouth if the same river, are inconsiderable, yet what is left to seen of them, shews, the good Greek manner of the happy age of architecture. So convenient a situation as that of Palmyra, between these two great cities already mentioned and Seleucia on the Tygris, as also between the Euphrates and the great trading towns on the coast of the Mediterranean, could hardly be overlooked; and indeed as a frontier towards the Parthians, its importance

must have been great, from the time Arfaces the founder of that empire took Seleucus Callinicus prisoner. These might be good reasons for supposing the buildings of Palmyra a work of some of the Seleucid*ae*, had we any historical authority to support such an opinion; but I cannot find even the name of this city in any part of their history.

It is true, the *AE*ra of Seleucus was used as Palmyra, as we shall see from the inscriptions, but all that we can infer from thence, is, that this city submitted to Alexander, and was governed, at least for some time by his successors; an opinion however, such, were it not otherwise probable, could scarcely be received merely upon this evidence; for why might we not suppose that so trading a city, tho' independent of the Seleucid*ae*, might have introduced the same method of reckoning their time, which their neighbours used, as a matter of convenience.

The Roman history of Syria comes next under consideration. That country was conquered by Pompey, when a taste for the fine arts had been for some time introduced at Rome, and had made the same progress which their arms had done in Greece and Asia; when not only the riches of these provinces, but their architecture, painting, and sculpture became objects of enquiry to a Roman governour. One would imagine that Palmyra might have gratified both their curiosity and avarice, and yet we do not meet with any mention of this city in their history, until Mark Anthony's attempt to plunder it, which they escaped by removing their most valuable effects over the Euphrates, and defending the passage of the river by their archers.

The pretence he made use of to give such conduct a colour of justice, was, that they did not observe a just neutrality between the Romans and Parthians; but Appian says his real motive was to enrich his troops with the plunder of the Palmyrenes, who were merchants, and sold the commodities of India and Arabia to Romans.

We may conclude from hence they were at that time a rich, trading, free people. How long they had been in possession of these advantages, we are left to guess.

It seems probable that their riches, and of course their trade, must have been of some standing; for we shall find by the inscriptions, that in less than forty years after, they were luxurious and expensive to such degree, as must have required considerable wealth to support.

As to the time when they acquired their freedom, we are likewise let to conjecture.

Doctor Halley is of the opinion, that "when the Romans got footing in these parts, and the Parthians seemed to put a stop to their further conquest in the past, then was the city of Palmyra, by reason of its situation, being a frontier and in the midst of vast sandy desart, where armies could not subsist to reduce it by force, courted and caressed by the contending princes, and permitted to continue a free state."

But I cannot help thinking there are good reasons for giving their freedom any earlier date. That importance as a frontier, to which the Doctor attributes their liberty, was as considerable, before the Roman conquest as afterwards: the many wars the Seleucid*ae* were engaged in, offered several good opportunities of withdrawing themselves from the dominion of those princes. Besides, it does not seem probable that Palmyra should have submitted to the usurpation Tigranes, and yet have become free under Pompey, who drove that prince out of the country; and indeed Pompey's best excuse for not giving up Syria to Antiochus Asiaticus, was, that the Romans could defend it from the insults of neighbours, which the Syrians themselves could not.

Ptolemy gives us the names of several cities in the Palmyrene, some of which are repeated in Peutinger's tables, but, I believe none of them to be met with any where else. He also mentions a river at Palmyra.

I am not so much surprised to see nothing of this city in other antient geographers. As that Strabo, our faithful guide round the Mediterranean, (who of all those writers had most judgment, with most curiosity) should not even mention its name.

Pliny has very happily collected, in a few lines, the most striking circumstances with regard to this place, except that he takes no notice of the buildings. This short account may be worth comparing with what we saw, as the only antient description we have of this city.

"Palmyra is remarkable for situation, a rich soil and pleasant streams; it is surrounded on all sides by a vast desart, which totally separates it from the rest of the world, and has preserved its independence between their two great empires of Rome and Parthia, whose first care when at war, is to engage it in their interest. It is distant from Selcucia and Tigrim, 337 miles from the nearest part of the Midterranean 203 and from Damascus 176."

In its flourishing state Palmyra could by no means fall short of this description; its 'situation' is fine, under a ridge of hills towards the west, and a little above the level of a most extensive plain, which it commands to the east.

Those hills were covered with great numbers of sepulchral monuments, several of which remain almost entire, and have a very venerable aspect.

What 'soil' remains is extreamly rich, and 'its waters' very limpid, rising by the town, as such a height as to be capable of receiving any direction. What Ptolemy call the river of Palmyra, I suppose to have been no more than the united streams from those fountains, which still continue to flow with a pretty smart current as far as their old channels remain entire. Those were lined with stone, to prevent to loss of water, which for want of the same care is now soon soaked up in the sand, without producing much verdure; tho' a considerable spot immediately about the town might certainly with little

pains be rendered fertile. The hills, and no doubt a great part of the desart, were formerly covered with palm-trees, which we have seen grow in the driest sandy desarts. Abulseda mentions the palm as well as fig-trees of Palmyra, and the merchants who went thither from Aleppo in1691, take notice of several, tho' we could find but one left in the country.

The other particulars mentioned by Pliny, "as its situation in the midst of a vast desart, which totally separates it from the rest of the world; its independence; how necessary its friendship to the two great contending powers, the Parthians and Romans," are all circumstances which strongly characterize Palmyra." The distance he gives it from 'Seleucia, Damascus and the Mediterranean' are tolerably exact, tho' something to great.

We hear nothing of this city either in Trojan or Adrian's expeditions to the east, tho' they must have passed either through or near it. Stephannus indeed mentions Palmyra being repaired by Adrian, and called from that Adrianople. It seems odd, that we should have no better authority for this, while that emperor has been so much complimented for less considerable works in several parts of Greece.

Palmyra is called upon the coins of Caraccalla a Roman colony, which we know from Ulpian was Juris Italici.

We find from the inscriptions, that they joined Alexander Severus in his expedition against the Persians.

We do not meet with Palmyra again until the reign of Gallienus, when it makes a principal figure in the history of those times, and in a few years experiences the greatest vicissitudes of good and bad fortune.

The facts relating to this short, but interesting period are imperfectly and variously handed down to us by Zosimus, Vipiscus, and Trebellius Pollio. I shall attempt to throw into some order the separate passages in these historians, which seem most for our present purpose; and leaving it to others to reconcile their different accounts, shall make use of the authority which has gained most credit.

The Roman affairs in the east had been for some time in a very deplorable situation, when Odenathus, a Palmyrene, but of what family or rank originally in the state, is not agreed, made so proper a use of this situation between the two great rival empires of Rome and Persia, as to get the balance of power into his hands.

It appears that he declared in favour of different interests, as alterations in the face of affairs made it necessary. The alliance which gained him most reputation was with Gallienus. His courage, activity, and remarkable patience of fatigue, were the very opposite of the shameful negligence of that emperor, who seemed even pleased with the captivity of his father Valerian, prisoner of Sapor king of Persia, and treated by him with the greatest indignity.

Odenathus joined the shattered remains of the Roman army in Syria, rout Sapor the Persian king, and advanced as far as Ctesiphon, the capital of his empire, victorious in several engagements.

He returned from this expedition with great applause, and a considerable booty, and was for his services declared by Gallienus, Augustus and co-partner of the empire, a reward which does him honour with posterity, not because Gallienus confered it, but that the publick approved of it.

Another considerable piece of service done by Odenathus to the Roman emperor, was the defeat of Ballista, one of the many pretenders to the empire, in those times of confusion. He was an officer of much experience and great merit, had served under Valerian, and was his particular favourite. The many good qualities recorded of him in letters of that emperor shew, that he might have been a dangerous enemy, had not Odenthus removed him.

The last publick action of Odenathus, was, his relieving Asia minor from the Goths, who had over-run several of its rich provinces, committing great ravages; but retired upon his approach. He is generally supposed to have been murdered in pursuing them, by M*ae*onius his kinsman.

Herodes, his son by a former wife, whom he had joined with him in the empire, suffered the same fate; of whom all we know from history is, that he was delicate and luxurious to a great degree, much indulged by his father, and as much hated by his step-mother Zenobia.

The short and confused accounts we have of Odenathus, rather raise than satisfy our curiosity, and give great reason to regret the loss of an oration written by Longinus in his praise, and mentioned by Libanius. But whatever uncertainty there may be about some part of his life, it is agreed by all, that he had many great and good qualities. Pollio says, the Roman affairs in the east must have been totally ruined, had he not engaged himself in their interest; and reckons his death an instance of the divine vengeance upon that people.

Maeonius, the kinsman and murderer of Odenathus, survived but a little while; he was saluted emperor, and soon after cut off by the soldiers.

Odenathus left behind him his queen Zenobia, and two sons by her, Herencanius and Timolaus, others add Vaballathus, supposed by some rather the son of Herodes.

Her extraordinary character and various fortunes seem so much to deserve attention, and are with so little connection interspersed in the works of the writers already mentioned, that we shall enter a little more particularly into them, than is necessary to

principal view of this enquiry.

Zenobia makes her appearance under the imputation of a crime, which were it to be credited, would prepare the reader very unfavourable for the rest of her character. She is said to have consented to the murder of husband, and step-son. All the authority for this heavy accusation is from Trebellius Pollio, who does not positively assert it neither, but gives it as a report. To which if we add, that though the same author has wrote the life of Odenathus and Zenobia, he takes no notice of this remarkable circumstance in either, nay even praises Zenobia for her clemency; it seems at least a compliment we owe her virtues, to believe her innocent.

All we know, with any degree of certainly Zenobia's family is, that she boasted herself descended from the Ptolemy's, and was fond of reckoning Cleopatra among her ancestors.

She was accounted a woman of extraordinary beauty; and the particular description we have of her person answers that character. Her complexion was a "dark brown; (a necessary consequence of her way of life in that climate) she had black sparkling eyes, of an uncommon fire; her countenance was divinely sprightly, and her person graceful and genteel beyond imagination; her teeth were white as pearls, and her voice clear and strong."

If we add to this her uncommon strength, and consider her excessive military fatigues; for she used no carriage, generally rode, and often marched on foot three or four miles with her army: And if we, at the same time, suppose her haranguing her soldiers, which she used to do in a helmet, and often with her arms bare, it will give us an idea of that severe character of masculine beauty, which puts one more in mind of Minerva than Venus.

The picture of her mine may as justly claim the same resemblance; for she understood several languages, spoke the Egyptian perfectly well, and knew the latin, though she did not care to speak it, from a modest diffidence, but read and translated it into greek. She was acquainted with history; and so particularly well vers'd in that of Alexandria and east, that she is said to have made an abridgment of them.

She was cautious and prudent in council, but determined in executing, generous with *oe*conomy, and so chaste, that it is said her sole views in matrimony were propagation. She could be open or reserved, implacably severe or indulgently forgiving, as occasion required.

We shall omit saying any thing of her religion, as a controverted article, which would have taken up more time than we can here spare. The opinion of her being made a convert by the Jews prevailed much, I think, for want of examination.

With these military and manly virtues, we discover a female fondness of shew and magnificence. Her dress was rich and set with jewels. She imitated in her way of living the royal pomp and Persia, and received homage of her subjects with the state of their kings. In her banquets she copied after the Romans, but like Cleopatra drank out of gold cups set with gems.

Trebellius Pollio, from whom I collect this account of her, adds a circumstance which may expose our heroine to some censure. He says 'she often drank with her officers, and could, in that way, get the better of the Persians and Armenians, tho' he says she was generally moderate in the use of liquor.'

However this passage may imply a want of delicacy in Zenobia, it does not seem to carry with it any imputation of intemperance; I think all that we can fairly conclude from it is, that being able to drink much with intoxication, she made an artful use of that power, to get acquainted with tempers, and learn secrets necessary to her schemes.

To these extraordinary qualities, we may add, that Zenobia engaged in the management of affairs with advantages which scarce ever met in the same person and at the same time, youth and experience. Her age we may guess at from her being married and having children at Rome several years afterwards; and yet she had already made such progress under the direction of her husband Odenathus, whom she most constantly attended in the field, that the emperor Aurelian gives her the honour of his victories over the Persians, in his letter to the senate, which is preserved in Pollio.

It is a loss, that the only writer of her life, from whom we have collected these particulars of her manners, person and dress, should be so silent about the more important parts of her publick character, and enter so little into the spirit of her great actions, when he dwells so minutely upon things of less consequence: While we acknowledge ourselves indebted to him for her black eyes and white teeth, we cannot help reproaching him with an absolute silence about any battle she fought, or any law she enacted.

In this case, we must have recourse to the history of her *cotemporary* Roman emperors; her story is so connected with theirs, that they may throw some light upon each other.

Zenobia took upon her the government, in the name of her sons then very young: She found Gallienus one the worst of the bad emperors, in the last year of reign, and his affairs in a perplexity extreamly favourable to her ambition; his single good quality was a love of letters, his bad one were without number, but lewdness and cruelty were his favourite vices, in which he is said to have rivalled Heiliogabalus and Nero. A total neglect of his duty to his country and captive father, would have reduced the empire to an irretrievable state of confusion, and not Odenathus supported his interest in the east.

Zenobia's views were inconsistent with any longer alliance with the Romans.

Upon what pretence she broke through the engagements they and her husband were under, is not clear; but she attacked and routed Heraclianus the Roman general, sent by Gallienus with an army against the Persians, who narrowly escaped, after a sharp engagement, and left her in possession of Syria and Mesopotamia. In the same year Gallienus was murthered at Milan.

Claudius succeeded him, a character so amiable and so different from his predecessor, that he would probably have restored happiness and tranquility to the empire, had he reigned long enough. 'He had the valour of Trajan, the piety of Antoninus, and moderation of Augustus;' virtues which he indefatigably exerted in the publick service. The grand object of his attention was reformation. How difficult this task was, appears from the letter he wrote to the senate immediately before that memorable victory which gave him the name of Gothicus.

While he was thus taken up by affairs nearer home, Zenobia finding a party for her in Egypt, supported by one Timogenes, sent Zabdas, an experienced officer, who had fought under Odenathus, and attended her in all her battles, to make the conquest of that country, to which she perhaps claimed an hereditary right, as the descendant of the Ptolemy's, their former kings. He came to a battle with the Egyptians, the success of which put in possession of that province, where he left a body of 5000 men, and returned to Palmyra.

This revolution happened in the absence of Probus praefect of Egypt, who was then out upon a cruise against the pyrates who infested the neighbouring seas. Upon the news of it he returned, and drove the Palmyrene troops out of the country.

This sudden turn of affairs brought back Zabdas again with his army. Probus engaged and beat him; but not content with this success, attempted to cut off the retreat of the Palmyrenes: Which proved fatal to him, for having with that view got possession of those heights near Babylon, (which command the present town of Cairo) Timogenes, better acquainted with the country, shewed the Palmyrenes and unguarded road up to that part, by which they surprised and destroyed his army. Probus taken prisoner, and drove to despair by the misfortunes his mismanagement had occasioned, killed himself, and Zenobia became mistress of Egypt.

Claudius resolved to march against Zenobia about the latter end of the second year of his reign; but was taken off by the plague Syrmimum in Pannonia.

Aurelian was elected in his room by the army, and Quintillus brother to the late emperor by the senate; but the death of the latter in seventeen days after was proclaimed, prevented a competition, and Aurelian was unanimously declared.

He was a mere soldier of fortune, and from the lowest rank in the army rose to general of the cavalry: remarkable bodily strength, great courage, and an unwearied

attention to military discipline, were the virtues to which he owed his rise. He was generous in rewarding, but quick and always severe in punishing; cruelty was his dangerous vice, and the more so, as he was credulously open to accusations. However, Rome got more by his virtues than the she lost by his vices. The disorders introduced by Gallienus were but partly remedied by Claudius, and still wanted a man of Aurelian's active spirit to compleat the work. While the two first years of his reign were successfully employed against the Goths, Germans, and Vandals, and in reforming the police at Rome, Zenobia added a great part of Asia Minor to her dominions.

It may be worth while to take a short view of Zenobia's present situation. She is now arrived at the highest pitch of her glory, and furnishes an example of one of the most rapid and extraordinary changes of fortune we meet with in history.

A small territory in the desart, under the government of a woman, extends its conquests over many rich countries and considerable states. The great kingdoms of the Ptolemy's and the Selucid*ae*, are become part of the dominions of a single city, whose name we in vain looked for in their history; and Zenobia's lately confined to the barren plains of Palmyra, has now Egypt in her dominions to the south, and to the north commands as far as the Bosphorus and black sea.

Her success had hitherto been very little interrupted; Claudius thought it the most prudent measure to employ his whole force in the suppression of evils nearer home. This conduct had Aurelian's approbation, as we see both in his letter to the senate, and by his taking same steps; for he intirely subdued the Goths, and then marched to the relief of the eastern empire. He crossed the Bosphorus at Byzanthium, and except at Tyana, a town of Cappadocia, which he took by stratagem, met with no opposition in his march to Antioch.

At this city and at Emesa, were fought these two battles by which Aurelian recovered the provinces of the east, and Zenobia was reduced to take shelter within the walls of her own capital.

The most remarkable things in these two actions, the last of which was very obstinate, were the superiority the Palmyrenes had in their cavalry, and Romans in the art of war. The same country excells in horses and horsemanship at this day.

Aurelian proceeded to Palmyra, greatly harassed in his march by the Syrian banditti, and having taken proper precautions to have his army supplied with provisions, besieged the town. The obstinacy with which the garrison defended it, is particularly taken notice of in a letter from Aurelian to Mucapores, as an apology for the length of the siege.

At last tired out with unsuccessful attempts, he was resolved to try the effects of negotiations, and accordingly wrote to Zenobia, but in a style which rather commanded than proposed terms, which she rejected with great distain; and notwithstanding the

desperate state of her affairs treated his offers as insolent; bid him remember that Cleopatra preferred death to a dishonourable life; and even insulted him with the advantages the Syrian banditti had got over his army.

This haughty answer greatly enflamed Aurelian: he immediately ordered a general attack with more fury than ever, and at the same time that he pressed them so vigorously in the town, he intercepted their Persian auxiliaries, and bought off the Saracens and Armenians.

Besides this, provisions began to fail in the town, while the enemy was well supplied; a circumstance greatly discouraging to the besieged, who place their chief hopes in the difficulty Aurelian would find of subsisting his army in the desart.

In this distress it was resolved in council, to let the Persians know the desperate situation they were in, and to implore their assistance against the common enemy.

Zenobia undertook to transact this affair in person, and set out for Persia upon a dromedary, an animal made use of for expedition in the same country at this day; but she found it impossible to escape the vigilance of the besiegers. Aurelian informed of her escape, dispatched a party of horse, which overtook her just as she had got into a boat to pass the Euphrates.

We are told, that the fight of the captive queen gave the Roman emperor infinite pleasure, at the same time his ambition suffered some mortification, when he considered that posterity would always look upon this, only as the conquest of a woman.

Zenobia being taken, the citizens of Palmyra submitted themselves to the emperor's mercy, though a considerable party were for defending the city to the last. He spared them upon their submission, and marched to Emesa with Zenobia, and a great part of the riches of Palmyra, where he left a garrison of 600 archers, commanded by Sanderio.

At Emesa, Aurelian made enquiry into Zenobia's conduct, and her motives for so much obstinacy.

I wish it were possible to vindicate her behaviour upon this occasion: but here she fell short of her grand model Cleopatra, and purchased a dishonourable life, at the expense of her friends, whom she betrayed as her advisers in what she had done: They were put to death, and she reserved to grace the emperor's triumph.

Among those, who suffered, was Longinus. He was accused of having dictated the haughty letter, which his mistress Zenobia wrote to the emperor. The intrepid steadiness with which he met his fate, shews that he was as brave, as he was learned.

The misfortunes of Palmyra did not end here: So quick a transition from long enjoyed liberty to a state of slavery, is apt to suggest desperate measures. The inhabitants cut off the Roman garrison. Aurelian informed of this in his road to Rome, returned with uncommon expedition, took and destroyed the town, putting to death most of the inhabitant, without regard to age or sex.

For the particulars of this cruelty, we have the emperor's own authority in his letter, to Bassus, whom he ordered to repair the temple of the sun, damaged by the soldiers, and appropriated to that use 300 pounds weight of gold, found in Zenobia's coffers; with 1800 pounds weight of silver, from the goods of the people, besides the jewels of the crown.

The most credible account of the remaining part of Zenobia's life is, that Aurelian carried her to Rome, where she graced his magnificent triumph; and was allotted by that emperor, some lands at Conche, near the road from Rome to the antient Tibur, where at this day some ruins are shewn to travelers, as the remains of her Villa. She is said to have married there and to have had children.

From this time Palmyra having lost its liberty, had, no doubt, a Roman governor. Ceionius Bassus, to whom Aurelian wrote the letter we have mentioned, was very probably the first; and we find Hierocles in that charge for the fifth time, with the name of president (Pr*ae*ses) of the province, when Dioclesan erected some of buildings there. This information we owe to the only Latin inscription we found at Palmyra, to which we refer the reader.

The magnificent remains of Dioclesian's buildings at Rome, Spalato, and Palmyra, shew this art flourished, as late as the reign of that emperor, contrary to the opinion of Sir William Temple, who says that Trajan's bridge over the Danube seems to have been the last flight of antient architecture.

The first Illyrian legion was quartered at Palmyra, about the year of Christ 400; but it seems doubtful, whether it continued to have a Roman garrison without interruption; for Procopius says, that Justinian repaired Palmyra, which had been for some time almost quite deserted, and supplied the town with water for the use of a garrison which he left there. Such repairs no doubt regarded more its strength than ornament. This author seems very little acquainted with its antient history, when he says it was built in that situation, to stop the incursions of the Saracens into the Roman territories. We have no more of Palmyra in the Roman history.

The civil revolution of this country, shew that christianity could have been but for a small time the established religion; so that I am not surprised at getting nothing worth repeating from church history.

Its various fortunes from the time of Mahomet's appearance are very obscure.

That it has been made use of as a place of strength, appears from the alterations made to answer that purpose in the temple of the sun, which, as well as the castle on the hill, cannot be above five or six hundred years old.

Benjamin Tudulensis, an ignorant and superstitious Jew, who passed through it in the twelfth century, says, there were 2000 of his religion there at that time.

Of the Arabian writers, some take no notice of Palmyra, and of those who do, Abulseda prince of Hamah, a city in its neighbourhood, who wrote about the year 1321, seems to be the only one worth quoting. He mentions very shortly its situation, soil, palm and fig-trees; its many antient columns, and that it had a wall and castle. He was very probably ignorant, both of its Greek name and history, and only calls it Tedmor.

On the other hand, some of the best writers on antient geography, who were in general acquainted with the history of Palmyra, seem quite ignorant of its ruins. Castaldus, Ortelius and others, do not take it for the Tedmor of Abulseda, but give it other modern names.

In short, so little were those ruins known before the latter end of the last century, that had their materials been employed in fortifying the place, which might have been a very natural consequence of a war between the Turks and Persians, Palmyra would scarce have been *mist*: a very strong instance of the precarious fate, that the greatest monuments of human art and power are liable to!

But about that time, some English merchants from Aleppo visited these ruins, who were plundered by the Arabs, and obliged to return without satisfying their curiosity: but made a second attempt thirteen years after the first, and stayed there four days.

Their account is published in the Philosophical Transactions, and is the only one I have ever seen of this place. It is wrote with so much candour and regard to truth, that some errors occasioned by haste, and their not being much acquainted with architecture and sculpture, deserve indulgence. We hope at least, our additional authority will rescue them from an unjust imputation, which was the more dangerous as it had the sanction of some men of sense and letters, who found it easier to doubt the veracity of their relation, than to account for such vast ruins, in so odd a place.

If our journey thither in the year 1751 has produced any thing which may be more satisfactory to the curious, it is entirely owing to our having undertook it with advantages which they wanted; and however we may claim the merit of a more inquisitive examination in the ruins of Palmyra, the discovery of them is entirely due to the English factory at Aleppo.

The account given by these gentlemen occasioned a short history of the antient state of Palmyra, and some ingenious remarks on the inscriptions found there by Doctor

Halley; as also a history of Palmyra, and commentary upon the inscriptions, by Ab. Seller. The first seemed to me too short, and the last too diffused, as well as incorrect, to answer what is meant by this enquiry; in which, however, I have had some assistance from both.

In this short sketch of the history of Palmyra, it appears that all we have been able to collect from books, with regard to its buildings is, that they were repaired by Adrian, Aurelian, and Justinian, the Latin inscription adds Dioclesan. We shall now proceed to what we proposed, as the second part of this enquiry.

How far the taste and manner of the architecture my give any light into the age which produced it, our engravings will put in every person's power to judge for himself; and in forming such judgment, the reader will make what use he thinks proper of the following observations, thrown together, without any view to order.

We thought we could easily distinguish, at Palmyra, the ruins of two very different periods of antiquity; the decay of the oldest, which are meer rubbish, and incapable of measurement, looked like the gradual work of time; but the later seemed to bear the marks of violence.

There is a greater sameness in the architecture of Palmyra, than we observed at Rome, Athens, and other great cities, whose ruins evidently point out different ages, as much from the variety of their manner, as their different stages of decay. The works were done during the republican state of Rome are known by their simplicity and usefulness, while those of the emperors are remarkable for ornament and finery. Nor is it less difficult to distinguish the old simple dorick of Athens from their licentious Corinthian of a later age. But at Palmyra we cannot trace so visible a progress of arts and manners in their buildings, from which, and their singular shape we at first supposed them works of the country, prior to the introduction of the Greek arts; but we found the inside ornamented as the other buildings.

It is remarkable, that except four ionick half columns in the temple of the sun, and two in one of the mausoleums, the whole is corinthian, richly ornamented with some striking beauties, and some as visible faults.

In the variety of ruins we visited in our tour through the east, we could not help observing, that each of the three Greek orders had their fashionable periods: The oldest buildings we saw were dorick succeeded, and seems to have been the favorite order, not only in Ionia, but all over Asia Minor, the great country of good architecture, when that art was in its highest perfection. The corinthian came next in vogue, and most of the buildings of that order in Greece seem posterior to the Romans getting footing there. The composite, and all its extravagancies followed, when proportion was entirely sacrificed to finery and crowded ornament.

Another observation we made in this tour, and which seems to our present purpose, was, that in the progress of architecture and sculpture towards perfection, sculpture arrived soonest at it, and soonest lost it.

The old dorick of Athens is an instance of the first, where the bas-reliefs on the metopes of the temples of Theseus and Minerva, (the first built soon after the battle of Marathon, and the latter in the time of Pericles) shew the utmost perfection that art has ever acquired, though the architecture of the same temples is far short of it, and in many particulars against the rules of Vitruvius, who appears to have found his principles upon the works of a later age.

That architecture out-lived sculpture we had several instances in Asia Minor, and no where more evident proofs of it, than at Palmyra.

This observation on the different fates of those sister-arts, which I have attempted to support by facts, has appeared a little extraordinary to some persons, who very justly consider architecture as the mere child of necessity, a discovery which our first wants must have thought of sculpture, the work of luxury and leisure. How comes it about then, say they, that it should be left so far behind by an art much later thought of? Perhaps my having had ocular demonstration of the fact, may induce me think too favourably of the following manner of accounting for it.

The sculptor having for his object the human figure, has in his first, and most rude essays, the advantage of a model of nature, the closest imitation of which constitutes the perfection of his art. But the architect's invention is employed in the search of proportions by no means so obvious, though when once established they are easier preserved and copied. The first part of this remark perhaps accounts for the quicker progress of sculpture, from the infancy of arts to their happiest state, as the latter part of it attempts to give the reason why architecture should not so immediately feel the decline of good taste.

If I am allowed to lay any stress on these observations, in applying them to Palmyra, it would induce me to fix the date of its building after the happiest age of the fine arts. But with regard to this we shall know more from the inscriptions.

We see from their dates, (in which the *AE*ra of Selucus is observed, with the Macedonian names of the months) that there are none earlier than the birth of Christ, and none so late as the destruction of the city by Aurelian, except one in Latin, which mentions Dioclesian. They are all in a bad character, some sepulchral, but mostly honorary; the names in the oldest inscriptions are all Palmyrene, those of a later date have Roman pr*ae*nomina.

TWO of the mausoleums, which still remain pretty entire, preserve on their front very legible inscriptions, of which one informs us, that Jamblichus, son of Mocimus, built

that monument, as a burial-place for himself and his family in the year 314, (answering to the third year of Christ) and the other, that it was built by Elabelus Manaius, in the year 414 (the 103 of Christ).

The ornament of these two are much in the same taste; but the latter is richest and most diligently executed. However, both are so much in the style and manner of the other publick building in general, that they may be supposed works not of very different ages.

As to the honorary inscriptions, they are almost all upon the columns of the long portico; where it will appear, that there were statues of the persons named in them, and that the several dates mark the time when such persons received that honour. So that all we can conclude from them, with regard to the buildings is, that the portico is older than the earliest of those dates.

We were diligent in our search after inscriptions, from which we hoped for some valuable information, with regard to a place about which history is so deficient; but in vain. We for the same reason enquired strictly after medals, cameo's and intaglio's; but with as little success. All the medals we got were Roman small brass, and of the low empire, and some cameo's and intaglio's which we found, are not worth notice.

We were not much disappointed, in not finding the name of Zenobia in any inscription, as her short reign was almost entirely employed in a war, the unhappy end of which prevented any opportunity either of compliment or flattery. Nor is Doctor Halley's observation improbable, that the Romans, so much irritated at her behaviour, should have destroyed, or defaced every thing which did her honour.

Upon the whole, I think, we may conclude, that as soon as the passage of the desart was found out and practiced, those plentiful and constant springs of Palmyra must have been known; and that as soon as trade became the object of attention, such a situation must have been valuable, as necessary to the keeping up an intercourse between the Euphrates, and the Mediterranean, being about twenty leagues from the river, and about fifty from Tyre and Sidon, on the coast This no doubt, must have happened very soon, from the situation of this desart, in the neighbourhood of the first civil societies we know any thing of; and we have positive authority from the writing of Moses, of a very early intercourse between Padan-Aran, afterwards Mesopotamia, and the land of Canaan.

If it be alledged, that such intercourse was kept up, no through the desart, but by a longer road, through the inhabited country, as is generally the practice at this day, and that the patriarchs in their journies between those countries, used nearly the same caravan-road, which is now commonly chosen for security from Damascus by Hamah, Aleppo, Fir, &tc. This objection may be answered by an observation which occured to me when I travelled this road into Mesopotamia (now Diarbekir) in my first tour into the

east in the year 1742, viz. That the expeditious journey of Laban and Jacob from Haran to Mount-Gilead, will admit of no other road than this through the desart; which alone can account for the small time in which they performed it. As Laban may have used extraordinary diligence, and exerted himself in the pursuit, we shall not venture to say what he could have done in seven days; but Jacob's journey will admit of a pretty exact calculation, nor could he easily have arrived at the nearest part of Mount-Gilead, even through the desart, in less than ten days, as he must have kept the common caravan-pace, observed by the present inhabitants; for he travelled with the same incumbrances of family, flocks, and in short, all his substance, carrying his wives and children upon camels, as the Arabs now do, who retain a surprising similitude of manners and customs to those of the patriarchs, and much greater than is observable between any other antient and modern people.

This reasoning, no doubt, supposes the face of the country to have been always the same that we saw it, which is not improbable; for few parts of the globe seem to be less subject to change than the desart; nor does it seem unreasonable to conclude, that Palmyra had always the same supply of water, and it's neighbourhood the same want of it. Josephus gives this as Solomon's reason for building here. The Persians when they became masters of Asia, attempted in some measure to water the desart, by granting a property in the land for five generations, to those who brought water thither. But the acqu*ae*ducts which they made under ground, from Mount-Taurus, for this purpose, were so liable to be destroyed, that they did not continue to answer the end for which they were built. In the war between Arsaces and Antiochus the Great, we see the first care on both sides was to secure the water in desart, without which an army could not pass.

How much the East-India trade has enriched all the countries through which it passed, from Solomon to the present time, is evident from history.

The immense riches of that prince, of the Ptolemies, and indeed of Palmyra, are to account for, from no other source.

It seems highly probable that the Ph*oe*nicians, who from their intercourse with the Jews, soon learned the value of the East-India trade, must as soon have found out how profitably it might be carried on through Palmyra, situated more conveniently for them, and at a less distance from their capital than from that of the Jews.

The grand passage for the India-Merchandize (before the Portugueze discovered that by the Cape of Good Hope) was, no doubt, by Egypt and the Red-sea. The cities Esiongeber, Rhinocolura, and Alexandria, were the different marts for this trade, as it passed through the hands of the Jews, Phoenicians, and Greeks. But there were formerly other channels less considerable, as there are to this day.

It is true, that their India-Trade, is now at a very low ebb, occasioned by the discovery of America, and he Cape of Good –Hope, but most of all by the bad

government of the Turks, diametrically opposite to the true spirit of commerce. There is, however, enough left to point out what might be done with proper management. And besides, the trade carried on by Cairo and Suez, a small intercourse is kept up by caravans from Aleppo and Damascus to Bassora. I make no doubt, that should this country one more become the seat of well regulated civil society, Palmyra must of course become considerable, by the trade of India, though Egypt might still be its grand channel.

When we were in Egypt, a person who had been long in India, and was well acquainted with the trade of that country, was sent to Grand Cairo by the present emperor of Germany, to see what commerce might be laid open between his Tuscan dominions and the Red-sea. The gentleman so employed told us, that he did not then persue his scheme of going on to Suez, and embarking for Mocha, because of the present unsettled government in Egypt; but that if tranquility was once restored, and there was security for merchants, the trade would greatly answer.

But at whatever time we may suppose Palmyra became a passage for the commodities of India, it seems very reasonable to attribute their wealth to that trade, which must have flourished considerably before the birth of Christ;; as we find by the inscriptions, about that time they were rich and expensive: and as Appian expresly calls them India-merchants, in Mark Antony's time, it seems to put this matter out of all doubt. I take it to have been owing to a want of proper attention to this circumstance of the trade of Palmyra, and the riches it may have produced, that writers have hitherto pretty confidently attributed its buildings to the successor of Alexander, or to the Roman emperors, rather than suppose its inhabitants could have been equal to the expence.

As antient authors are intirely silent about this opulent and quiet period of their history, we left to conclude that, intirely intent upon commerce, they interfered little in the quarrels of their neighbours, and wisely attended to the two obvious advantages of their situation, trade and security. A country thus peaceably employed, affords few of those striking events with history is fond of. The desart was a great measure to Palmyra what the sea is to Great Britain, both their riches and defence. The neglect of these advantages made them more conspicuous and less happy.

What their particular connections were with the Romans, before the time of Odenathus, how early began, and how often interrupted, may be difficult to decide with any satisfaction to ourselves. The earliest mark of their dependance, as we have seen in the foregoing history is, their having been a Roman colony in the time of Caracalla: that they assisted Alexander Severus against Artaxeerxers, proves no more than an alliance: we see Roman pr*ae*nomina, and a few Roman names in the inscriptions; and that, in one place, they have scratched out the name of a person, odious to Romans; and in other places seem to acquiesce in the Roman deification, by calling two of their deceased emperors gods. Whether all this means any more than compliment to their friends and allies, or argues a nearer interest in the Roman religion and politicks, is left to the reader to judge for himself.

We have seen, before the time Justinian, this city was reduced to as low a state as that in which we found it, and had lost its liberty, trade, property and inhabitants, in that natural chain in which publick misfortunes generally follow each other.

If the succession of these calamities was quicker than ordinary, it may be accounted for from the particular situation of Palmyra: a country without land, if I may use that expression, could only subsist by commerce; their industry had no other channel to operate in; and when the loss of their liberty was followed by that of trade, they were reduced to live idly on as much of their capital as Aurelian had spared; when that was spent, necessity obliged them to desert the town.

However, it's use as a place of strength, was still evident to Justinian; a use ever inseparable from it's situation, unless it should become the center of a great empire, which there seems no reason to expect; for the desart is a very natural boundary, and will probably continue to divide different states, with as little interruption as it is done from the earliest accounts of time.

If the Turks do not seem to know its value in this light, it is only because the weakness of the Persians has encouraged them in their neglect of it, especially as the Arabs would make it a little troublesome to support a garrison there. However, if they lose Bagdat, their present extended frontier, they will no doubt, fortify Palmyra.

As to the age of those ruinous heaps, which belonged evidently to buildings of greater antiquity that those which are yet partly standing, it is difficult even to guess; but if we are allowed to form a judgment, by comparing their state of decay with that of the monument of Jamblichus, we must conclude them extremely old; for that building, erected 1750 years ago, is the most perfect piece of antiquity I ever saw, having all its floors and stairs entire, though it consists of five stories.

But those buildings which we saw and measured, seem neither to have been the works of Solomon, as some have thought, nor of any of the Seleucid*ae*, according to others, and but few of them of any of the Roman emperors, but mostly of the Palmyrenes themselves, as we may conclude from their inscriptions, which are in this case our best authority. The monument erected by Jamblichus seems to be the oldest; and the work of Dioclesian the latest, taking in about 300 years between them.

The other rich and expensive buildings were, no doubt, erected before the last of these dates, and probably after the first; perhaps about the time Elabellus built his monument.

It is reasonable to suppose, that when private persons could erect monuments of such extraordinary magnificence, merely for the use of their own family, about the same time of opulence, the community may have been equal to the vast expense of their

publick buildings.

We are at a loss, what to think about the repairs of Adrian; those of Aurelian were considerable and expensive. We leave it to the reader to determine, whether these singularities of the temple of the sun, which could scarce ever have entered into the original plan, can have been the work of that emperor.

What remains there are of the wall, do not look unlike the work of Justinian, and may be the repairs mentioned by Procopius, and the highest antiquity any thing else can claim is the time of the mamalucs.

That the ruins are the greatest, and most entire of any we know, is, no doubt, much owing to there being few inhabitants to deface them, to a dry climate, and their distance from any city, which might apply the materials to other uses.

THEIR RELIGION, we know, was pagan: and from the extraordinary magnificence of the temple of the sun, it would appear, that, in common with their neighbours in Syria, they had a high veneration for that divinity.

THEIR GOVERNMENT, we see, both from history and the inscriptions, was republican; but their laws, police, &tc. are entirely lost; nor can we learn more than the names of a few magistrates from the inscriptions.

As to the state of LITERATURE among them, we have great reason to judge favourably of it: nor could they have left a more lucky specimen of their abilities in that way, than the only performance of their's, which has escaped, viz. Longinus his Treatise on the Sublime.

Footnotes: It is not certain that Longinus was a Palmyrene, though very probably he was of some part of Syria. But which he argues the most flourishing state of letters in a country, to have given birth to a great genius, or to have given him honour and support?

Of their MANNERS AND CUSTOMS we know little. We see from Pollio, that Zenobia, notwithstanding her military virtues, had something of the Persian luxury, and the same author says, that Herodes the son of Odenathus, was 'Homo omnium delicatissimus & porfus Orientalis & Graecae "luxuriate".

We have seen in the first part of this Enquiry, page 11, that horsemanship was held in much esteem in this Country, as it is still by the Arabs; and Appian * tells us the Palmyrenes were, expert archers.

It plainly appears from their situation, that agriculture and country improvements could make but a very small part of their business or amusements. From hence it is easier

to account for the extraordinary magnificence of their city, where, no doubt, their pleasures, as well as their business must have centered.

We were a good deal surprised to perceive, that a people, confined by situation in their amusements, should have no remains of a theatre, circus, or any place for games and exercise, when we considered, what lengths the Greek and Romans went in their love of these diversions. Of all antient buildings those best resist the injuries of time, from their shape; we had seen above twenty marble theatres in Asia Minor alone, most of them pretty entire.

However, as we meet with the office of *Agoranomos*, or AEdile, in the inscriptions, it may be alleged from thence, that there were publick games at Palmyra; the inspection of which, is a care belonging to that magistrate, whose duty originally extended only to the direction of the market. It is the more probable, that this office included both those provinces at Palmyra, as Zenobius * seems to be complemented for having discharged it with liberality; a very popular virtue, and expected in him who exhibited games, tho' I do not see how it could be exercised in the direction of the market.

The uncommon magnificence of their monuments of the dead, seem borrowed from Egypt, to which country they, of all people, come nearest in that sort of expense. Zenobia was originally of Egypt; she spoke their language perfectly well, and affected much to imitate in many things her ancestor Cleopatra. But, that they borrowed some of their customs from Egypt before her time, seems plain from the discovery we made, to our great surprise, of mummies in their sepulchral monuments. We had been in Egypt a few months before, and by comparing the linen, the manner of swathing, the balsam, and other parts of the mummies of that country, with those of Palmyra, we found their methods of embalming exactly the same.*

The Arabs told us, there had been vast numbers of these mummies in all the sepulchers; but that they had broke them up, in hopes of finding treasure. They were tempted, by the rewards we offered, to make strict search for an entire one; but in vain: Which disappointed our hopes of seeing something curious in the Sarcarophagus, or perhaps of meeting with hieroglyphicks. Among the fragments we carried off is the hair of a female, platted exactly in the manner commonly used by Arabian women at this time.

Footnotes: a – Appian de Bell. Civil. Lib 5; b – Inscript. IX; C – the pieces we brought away, which are in the possession of Mr. Dawkins, are proof of this.

From these few hints we see, that this people copied after great models in their manners, their vices and their virtues. Their funeral customs were from Egypt, their luxury was Persian, and their letters and arts were from the Greeks. Their situation in the midst of these three great nations makes it reasonable to suppose they adopted several

other of their customs and manners. But to say more on that head from such scanty materials, would be to indulge too much in meer conjecture, which seems rather the privilege of the reader than of the writer.

How much it is to be regretted that we do not no more of a country, which has left such monuments of its magnificence? Where Zenobia was queen, and where Longinus was first minister?

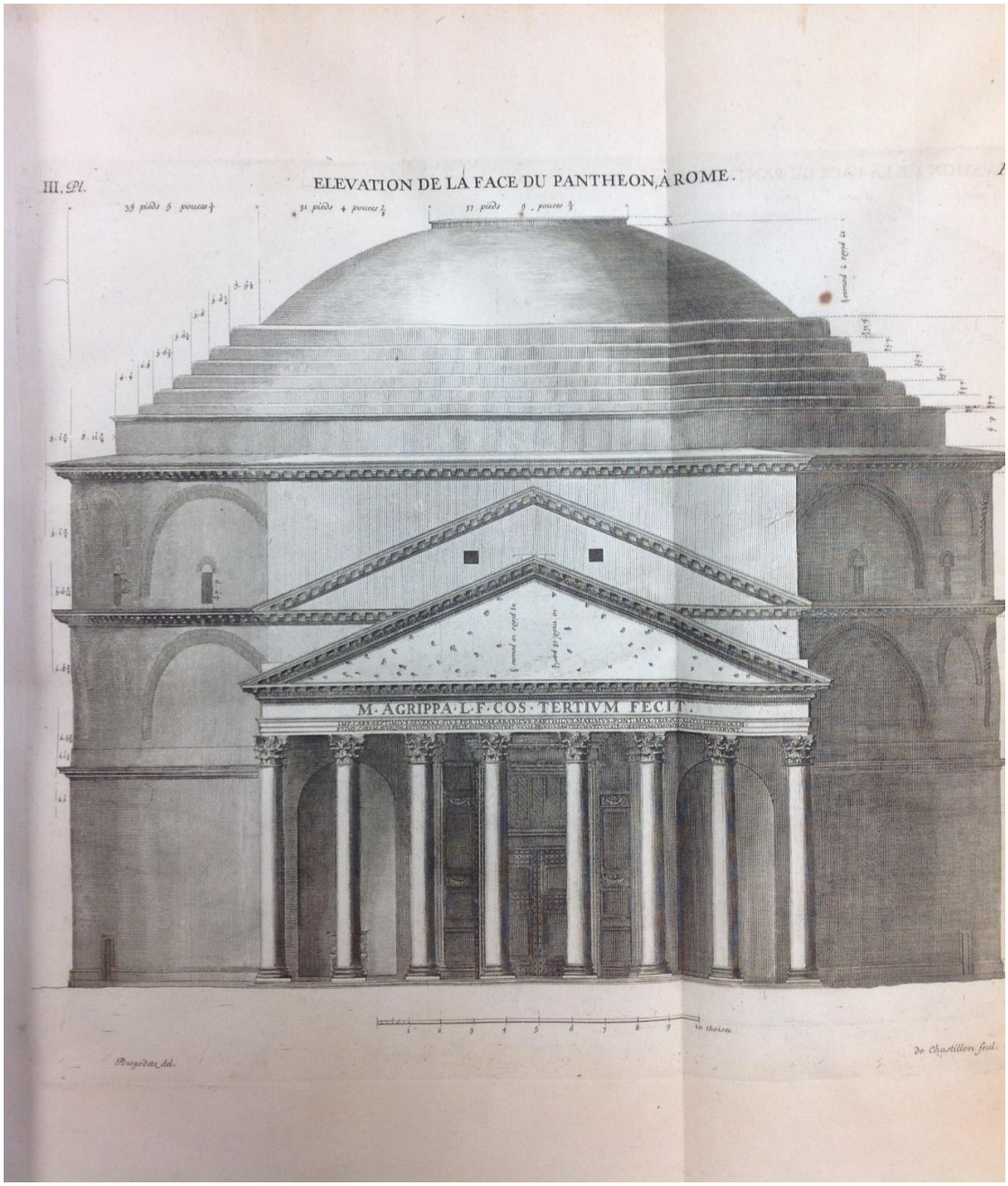
Appendix B – Supplemental Travel Book Images

The following images are attributed to the author, taken from public domain sources.

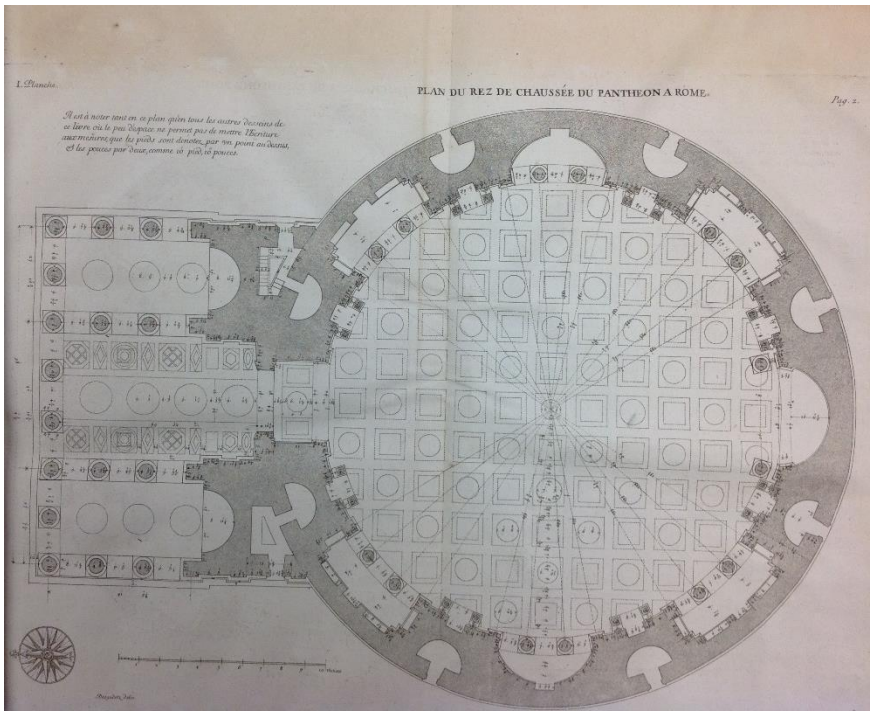
Antoine Babuty Desgodetz. *Les Edifices Antiques de Rome, Dessines et Mesures Tres Exactement*, 2nd Edition. Paris: Jombert Fils, 1779.

Julien-David Le Roy. *Les Ruins des plus beaux monuments de la Grece*, 1758 (source: gallica.bnf.fr/Bibliotheque national de France).

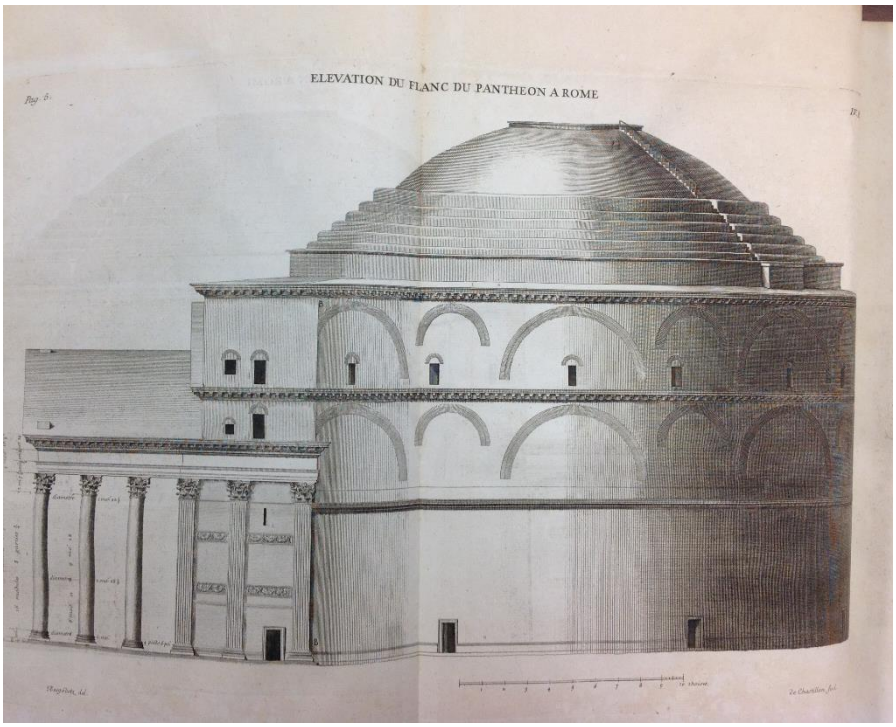
Society of Dilettanti, *Antiquities of Ionia*, London, 1769



B-1. *Elevation of the Pantheon in Rome*

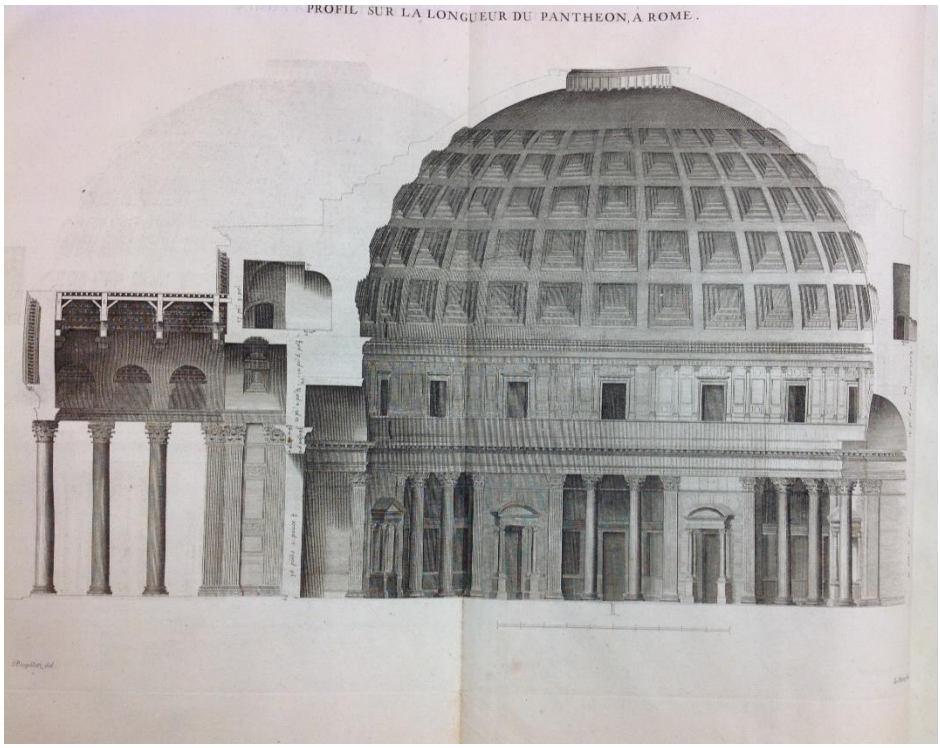


B-2. *Plan of the Pantheon in Rome*

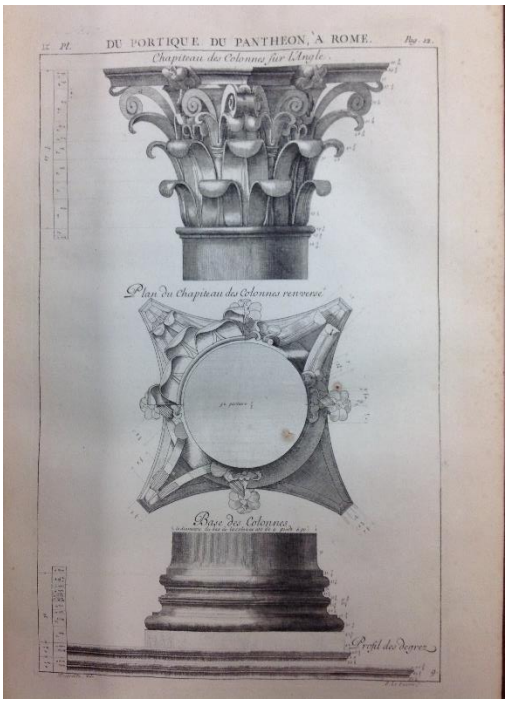


B-3. *Side Elevation of the Pantheon in Rome*

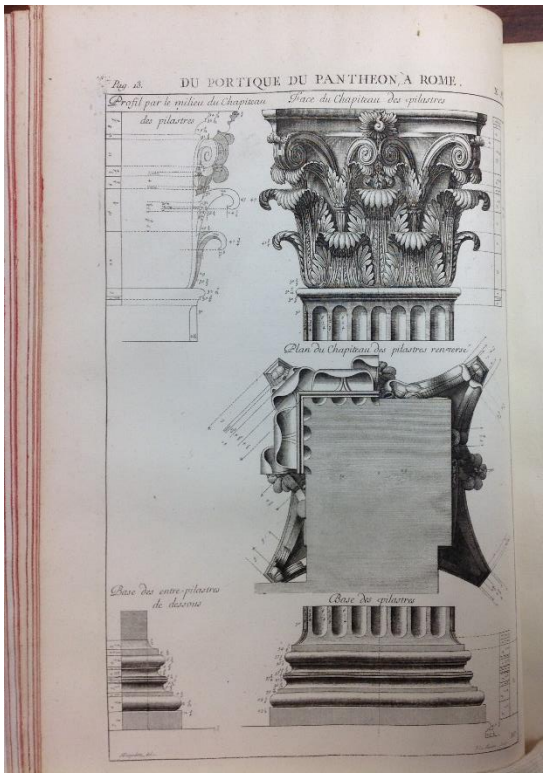
B-4. *Portico Section, Pantheon in Rome*

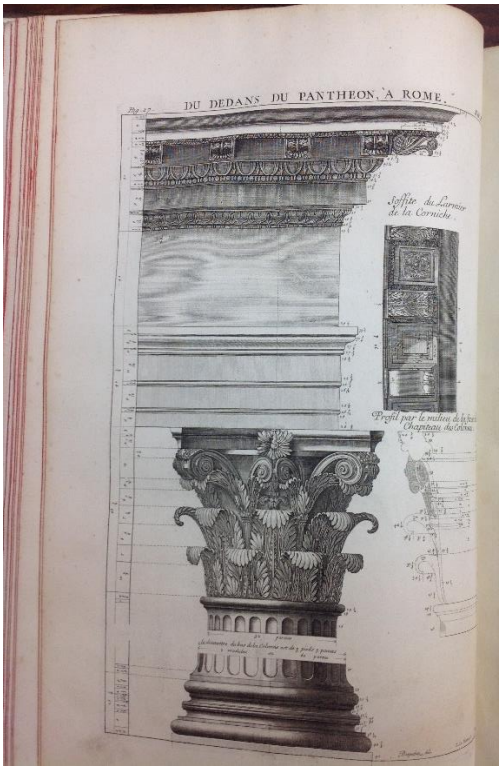


B-5. *Section of the Pantheon in Rome*

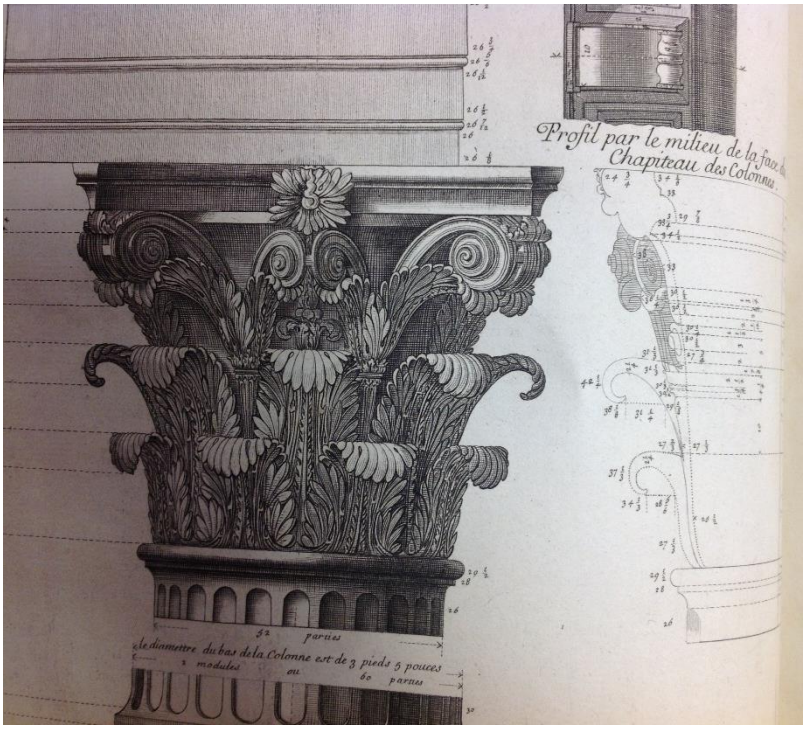


B-6. *Portico Columns, Pantheon in Rome*

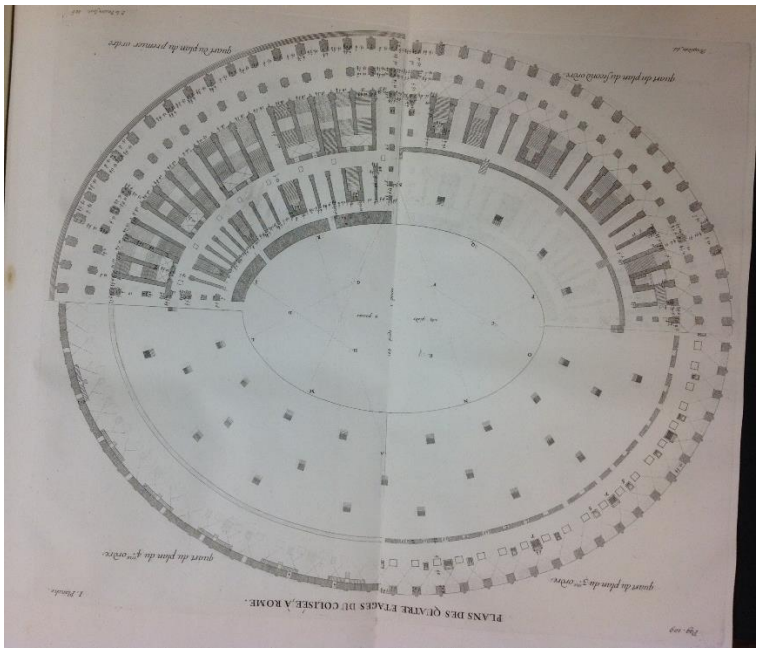




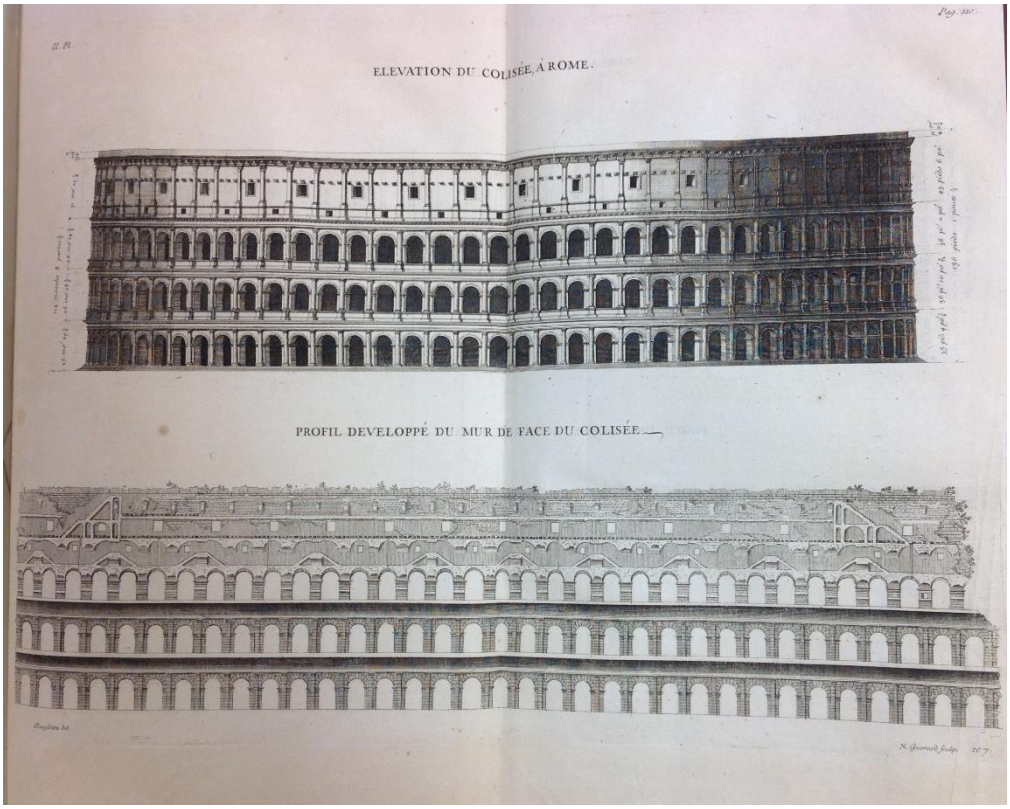
B-7a and B-7b. *Portico, Pantheon in Rome*



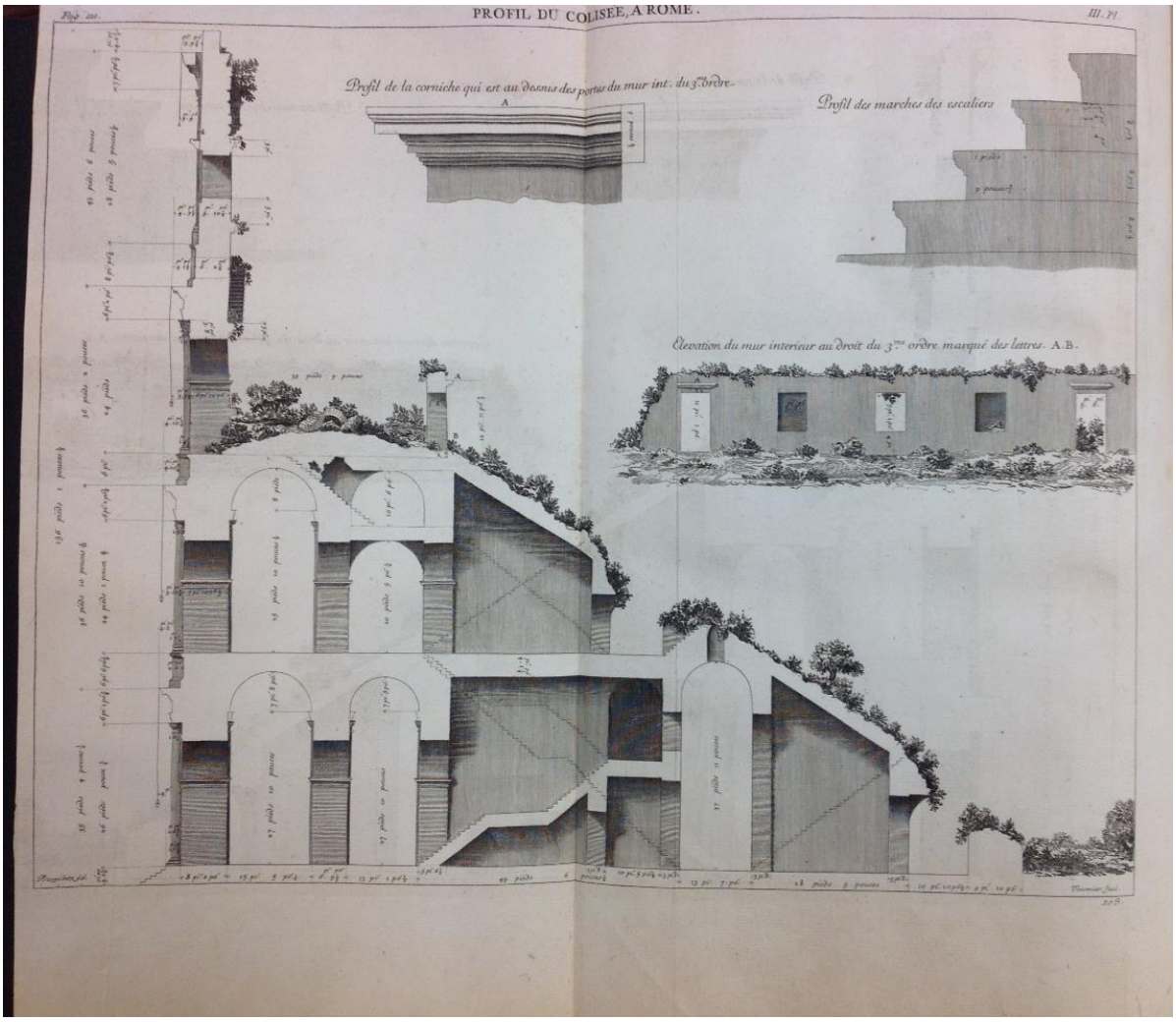
B-8. *Detail, Column Capital*



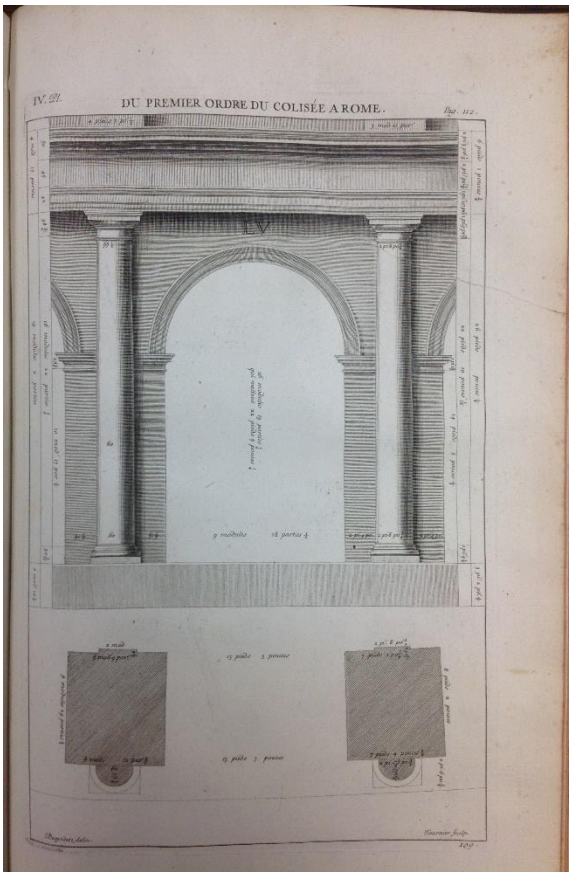
B-9. *Plan, Colosseum in Rome*

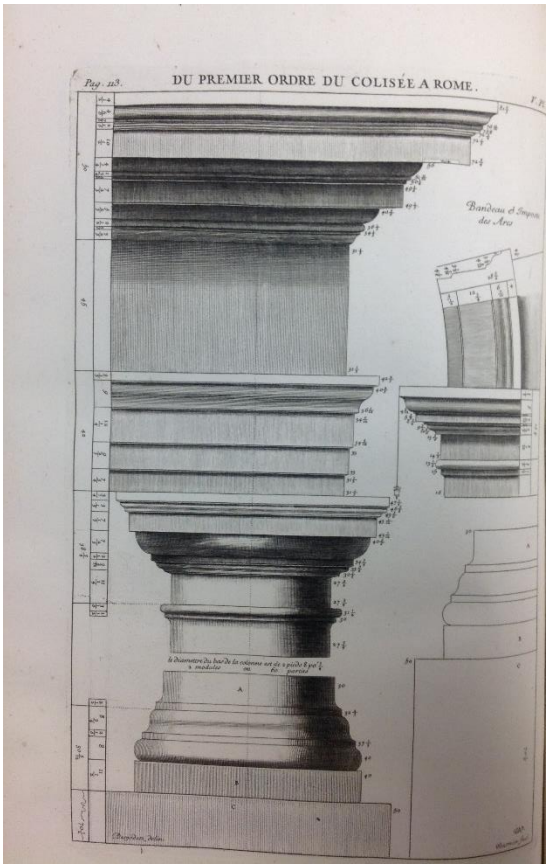


B-10. *Elevation, Colosseum in Rome*

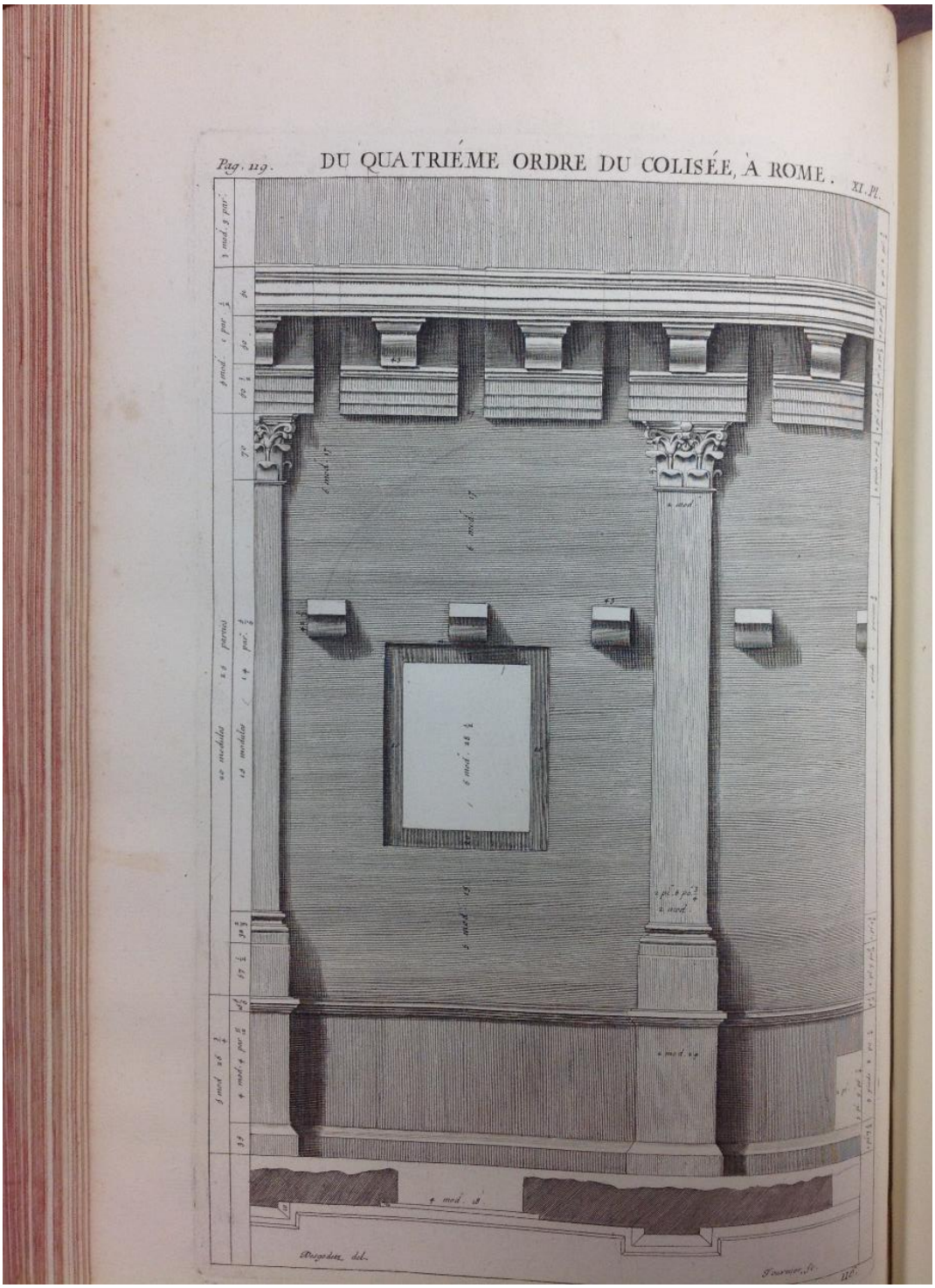


B-11. *Section, Colosseum in Rome*

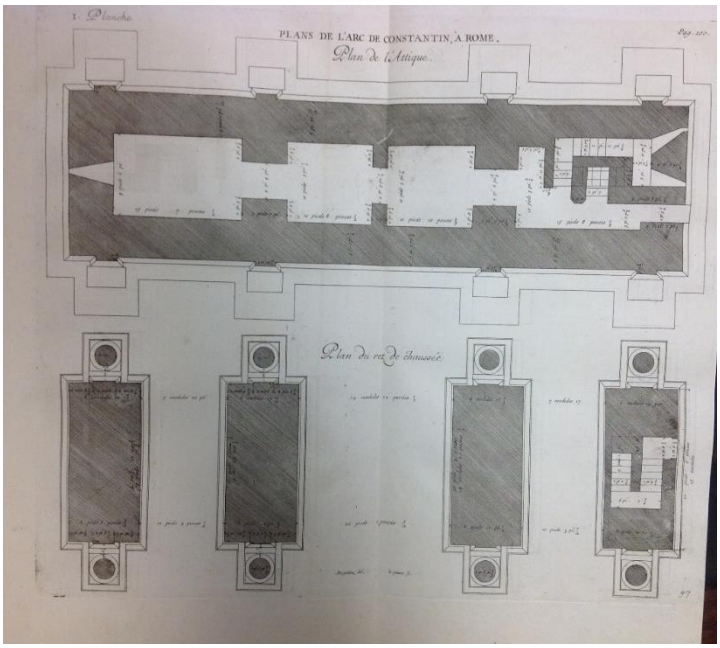




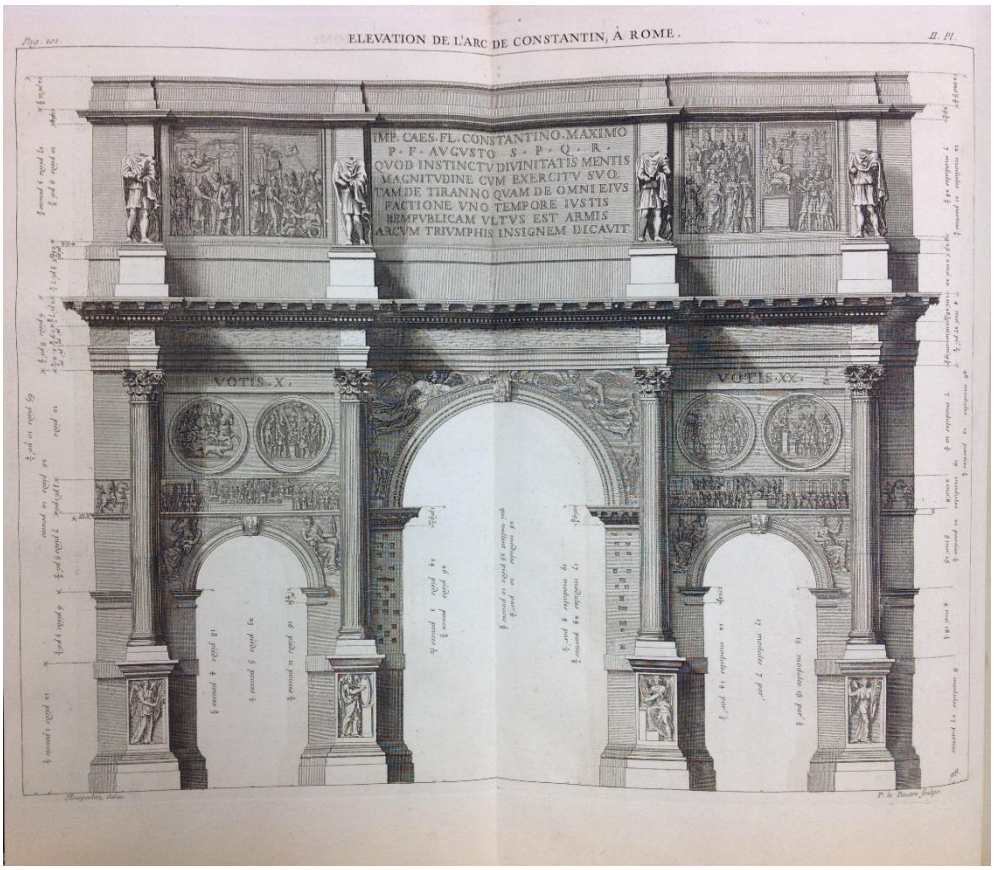
B-12a, B-12b. *First Order, Colosseum in Rome*



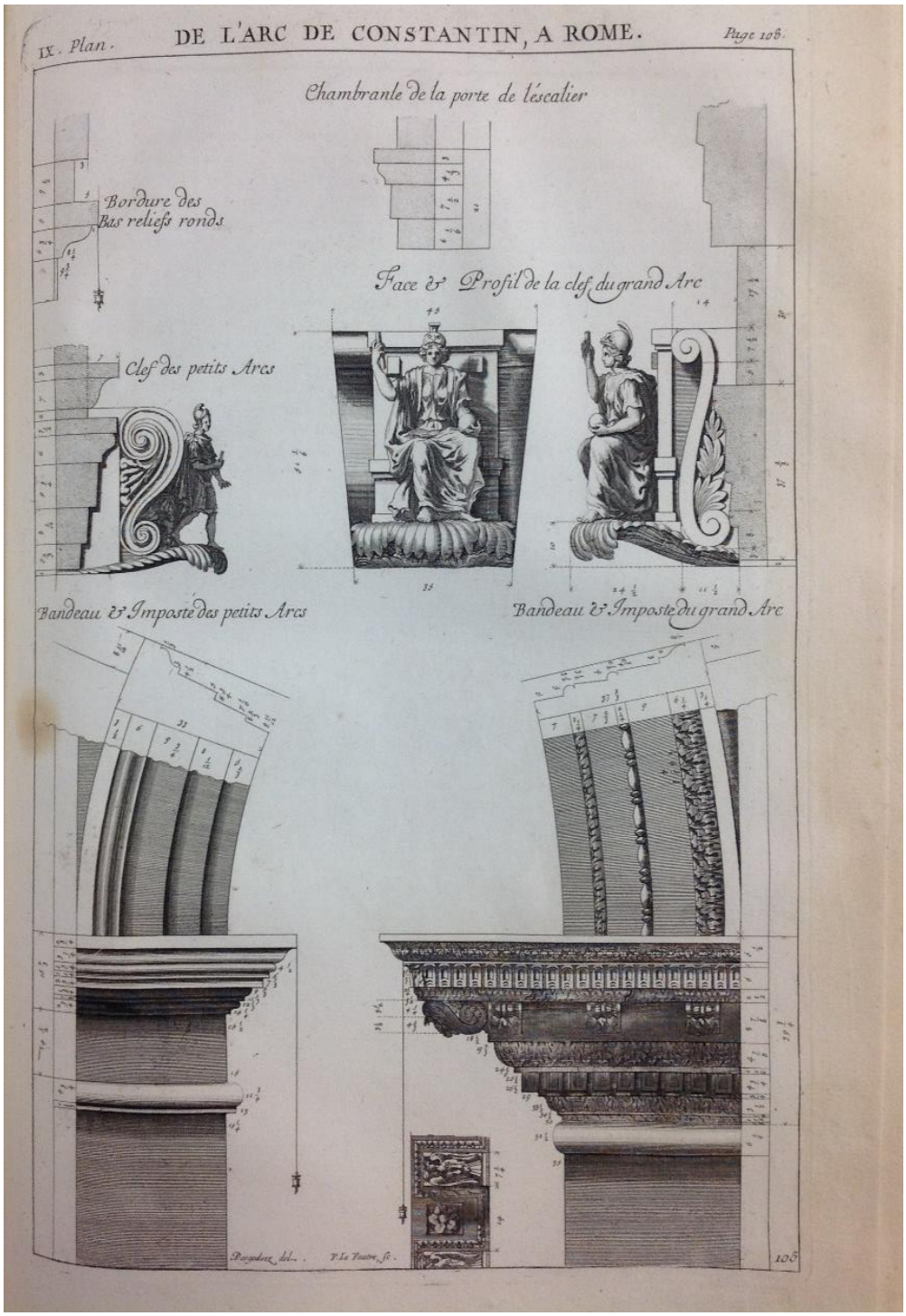
B-13. *Fourth Order, Colosseum in Rome*



B-14. *Plan, Arch of Constantine, Rome*

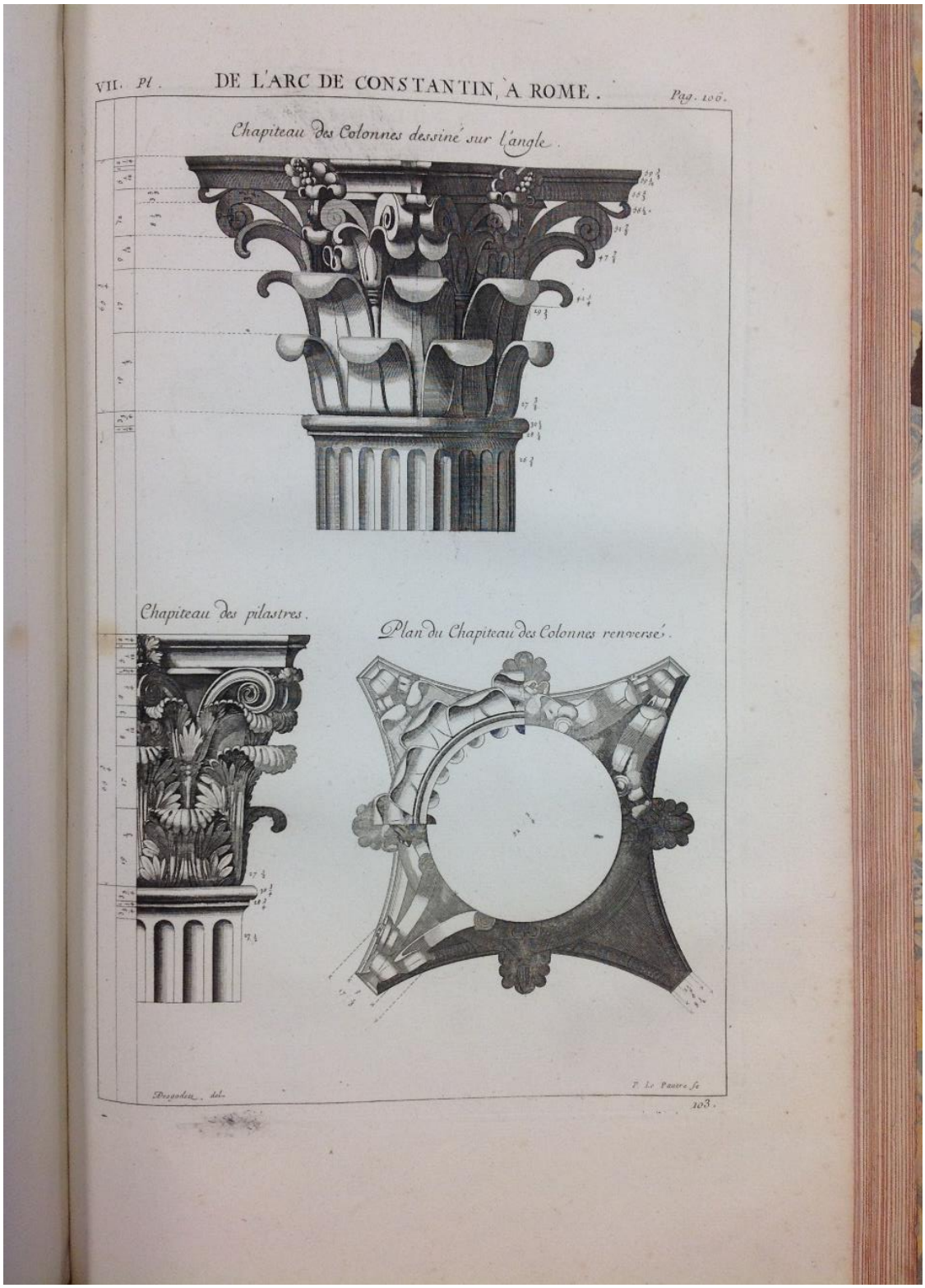


B-15. *Elevation of the Arch of Constantine, Rome*



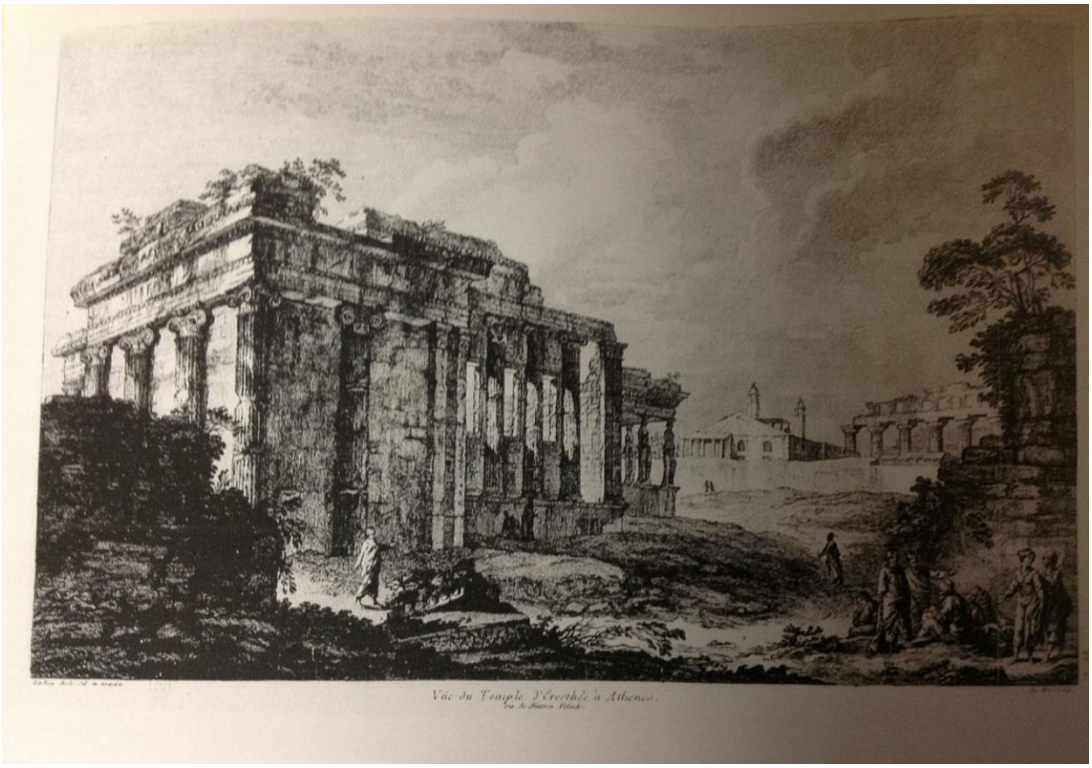
B-16. *The Arch of Constantine, Rome*

B-17. *Section, Arch of Constantine, Rome*



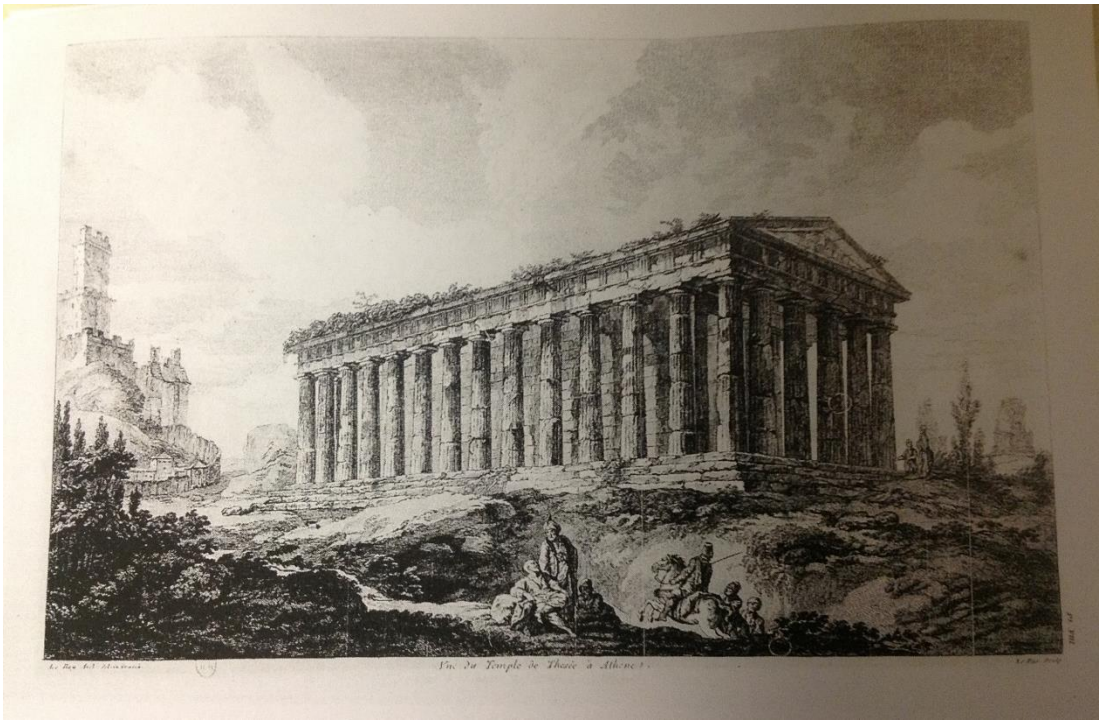
B-18. *The Arch of Constantine, Rome*

B-19. *View of the Temple of Minerva, Athens*

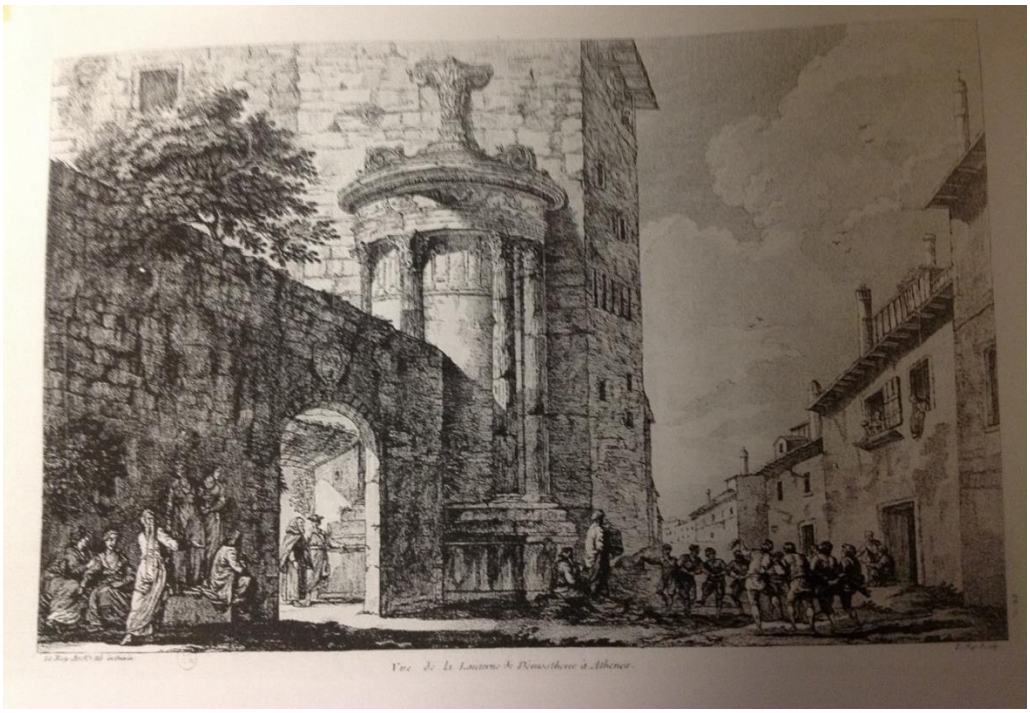


B-20. *View of the Temple of Erechtheus, Athens*

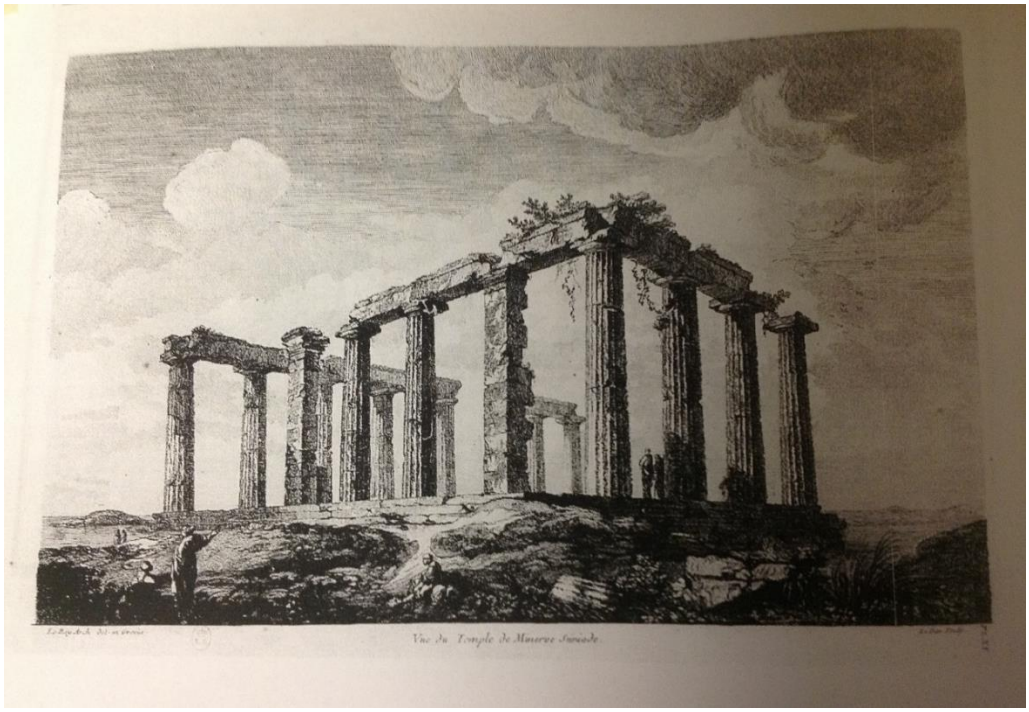
B-21. *View of the Ruins of the Propylaia, or of the Gate of the Citatdel, Athens*



B-22. *View of the Temple of Theseus in Athens*



B-23. *View of the Lantern of Demosthenes in Athens*



B-24. *View of the Temple of Minerva Sunias*

B-25. *View, Temple of Minerva at Sunium*

B-26. *View, Temple of Jupiter Panhellenius in Aegina*

B-27. *View, Arch at Mylasa*

B-28. *View, Gymnasium at Ephesus*

B-29. *View, Gymnasium at Treas*

B-30. *View, Theatre at Patara*

B-31. *Theatre at Patara*